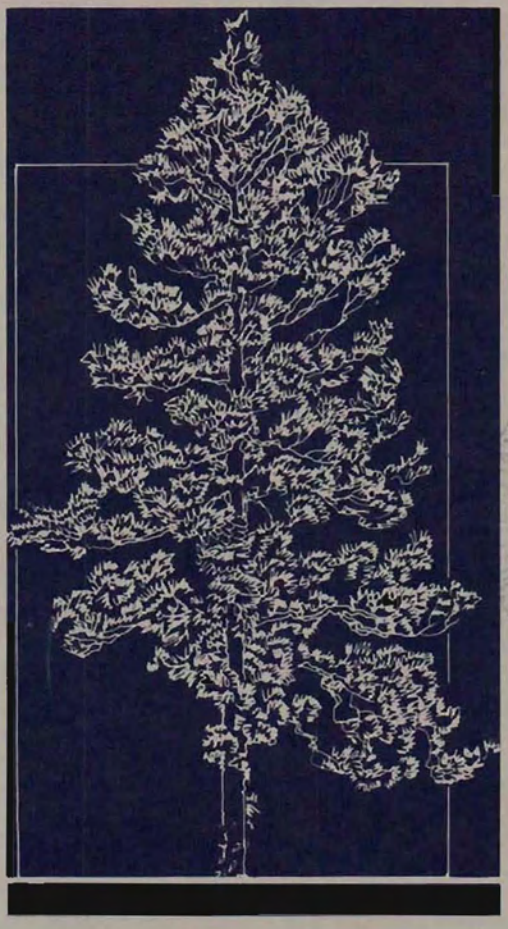
East Texas Historical Journal

Volume 29 | Issue 2 Article 1

10-1991

ETHJ Vol-29 No-2

VOLUME XXIX 1991 NUMBER 2



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BOOKS REVIEWED

"THE PEERLESS WIND CLOUD": THOMAS JEFFERSON GREEN AND THE TALLAHASSEE-TEXAS LAND COMPANY

by James M. Denham

On October 14, 1830, a contract was concluded between Thomas Jefferson Green and the Tallahassee-Texas Land Company at the Leon County courthouse in Tallahassee, Florida.[1] The agreement inaugurated a grandiose land speculation scheme in Texan lands. Under the plan, Green, a recent immigrant into Florida from North Carolina, would travel to Texas as the company's agent with $80,000 raised from among eleven shareholders and purchase rich lands suitable for cotton cultivation. The field of speculation was the vicinity of the Brazos, Nueces, and Red rivers. The members of the enterprise hoped to get in on the ground floor of a great rush in Texas lands. The company's investors represented some of the wealthiest planting and mercantile interests in Middle Florida. Among the Leon countians were planter-innkeeper Thomas Brown, cotton planters Willis and Augustus Alston, Tallahassee dry-goods store operator Richard Hayward, Arthur Macon, Arthur Holmes, and William Mooring. Those representing Jefferson County were United States Marshal Samuel A. Duval, Scottish immigrant Farquhar Macrea, and Edmund Vass. The company's president was a well-known French emigre, Achille Murat, also of Jefferson County. Murat owned several plantations in Middle Florida but made his home at "Lipona" in north Jefferson County. As a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte and as Vice Consul of the United Mexican States for the Territory of Florida, Murat was especially suited to forward the company's interests.[2]

The Tallahassee-Texas Land Company's land speculation scheme was typical of many others in the antebellum South. In the North investment capital flowed into emerging industrial and manufacturing enterprises, while in the South capital went primarily into land and slaves, fueling an ever-expanding cotton economy. Most Southerners realized that future wealth rested in cotton lands. Destructive farming techniques depleted these lands at a rapid rate and drove cotton farmers farther and farther west. Texas was the final stopping point for many Southerners who followed the long trek westward that eventually consumed the Old Southwest. The acquisition of fertile cotton lands remained a predominant occupation in the antebellum South. Thus it was natural for shrewd Leon County residents to appreciate this demand and attempt to capitalize on it.

The first influx of American settlers arrived in Texas in the early 1820s. From that time onward, land speculators circulated widely in the region. But actual settlers took a dim view of speculation by outsiders. On June 30, 1831, the *Tallahassee Floridian and Advocate* contained a statement

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from Texas militia General James Fannin warning all speculators from Middle Florida or elsewhere to "clear out immediately." Fannin stated that he would "permit them to stay as individuals but not as agents." Despite these warnings, Floridians, like other Southerners, eyed the prospects of huge cotton crops in Texas. Later in the decade editor Peter Gautier of the *St. Joseph Times* hinted that the "generous ... feelings of the South have contributed to raise up a rival in the cultivation of her great staple." "Texas," claimed Gautier, "is capable of yielding more cotton than all the Southern States together," and since its cotton passes through "some ports of the United States, we should not be surprised in less than ten years to hear the South crying out for a TARIFF!"[3] Accounts of the richness, plus availability of Texas lands, encouraged Floridians and other Southerners to either emigrate or invest.

The first American settlers arrived in Texas during the 1820s under the Republic of Mexico's "empresario system," which offered huge tracts of land to persons promising to colonize its large vacant northern provinces. Large numbers of Americans took advantage of the welcome. By 1835 approximately 35,000 Americans, mostly Southerners, lived in eastern Texas. Plantation-type agriculture was established and it is estimated that between 4,000 and 5,000 slaves were imported. Mexico soon lost control of its empresario system as many settlers came illegally, or violated the terms of their grants. In a belated effort to reestablish control in its northern provinces, Mexico enacted repressive laws which restricted the autonomy of the Americans. By 1835 a movement was afoot to sever relations with Mexico. After a number of skirmishes between American settlers and Mexican forces on Texan soil, the Texans declared their independence on March 2, 1836.[4]

During the fighting that followed the declaration, Texas was plagued by land speculators. The Texas Constitution of 1836 provided that only those persons in Texas at the time of the declaration were entitled to acquire land. But efforts to exclude speculators were unsuccessful and did little to curb the activities of the Tallahassee-Texas Land Company and its chief shareholder, Thomas Jefferson Green.

Green was born in Warren County, North Carolina, on February 14, 1802. Green attended the University of North Carolina (1819-1822), and also received an appointment to West Point, but was discharged after only four months. Upon his return he was elected to the North Carolina legislature where he befriended fellow representatives Robert Potter and Samuel Carson, who became influential in the future Republic of Texas. In 1827 interest in land speculation took Green to Tennessee where he met and married Sarah A. Wharton of Nashville. The couple migrated to Florida with Green's brother Nathaniel and settled on a plantation near St. Marks. Green quickly became an influential leader in this community. Green's political affiliation is uncertain but his support of Governor William Pope Duval and his social and business contacts suggest Whiggish

leanings. In 1829 and 1832 Duval appointed him justice of the peace for Leon County. Finally, on 1834 Green served in Florida's Legislative Council.[5]

In addition to politics, Green was involved in a number of business enterprises. In 1832 the *Tallahassee Floridian* described his cotton crop as perhaps the best in the territory. In 1835 the same journal noted that his cotton crop sold for an astonishing 22¼ cents per pound. Green also grew sugar cane and ran a commercial fishing operation at Shell Point.[6] Combining sport with profit, Green also owned a stable of fine race horses.

Many of Green's fellow stockholders in the land company were also members of the Tallahassee Jockey Club. Likely it was here that Green, Thomas Brown (who owned the Marion Race Track), the Alston brothers, Farquhar Macrea, Achille Murat, and other members of Middle Florida's social and economic elite socialized, satisfied an appetite for sport, and arranged business deals.[7] These annual races were gala affairs and the highlight of Tallahassee's social season. Grand balls were given during race week and all of Tallahassee's socially conscious attended.[8] With these and other contacts, Green formed the Tallahassee-Texas Land Company and undertook a daring enterprise which might make them all fabulously wealthy. Green had a special advantage in forming the enterprise. As an appraiser of the Union Bank of Florida, he knew who in the area had the capital available for speculative purposes.[9]

By 1835, following the death of his wife, Green made plans to relocate in Texas. Renting his land to Willis and Augustus Alston, Green began pursuing a number of contacts for the purchase of lands in Texas, both in his and the company's interests.[10] Before leaving, Green made arrangements to conduct some business in New Orleans for fellow company member Farquhar Macrea, who also was thinking of relocating. Macrea executed a draft for $1,080 to Green on the New Orleans firm of N & J Dicks & Company, which covered his one share in the Tallahassee-Texas Land Company. Green made a tentative agreement to sell Macrea a tract of land on the Red River if it was still available by December. On October 14, 1835, Macrea wrote Green from his plantation, "La Calma," located near Wacissa, that he planned to travel to New Orleans and then proceed to the Red River to inspect the lands. He asked Green to "hand some friend in Town Letters of Introduction from Messrs. Dicks [and any] others you may think advisable for my Guidance & progress up the Rivers. I am a total stranger in those parts. You may assure the Messrs. Dicks that whether I go to Texas, or remain here, I shall be very glad to consign my cotton to them, having wished for some time for a Fiesta [in] New Orleans." Finally Macrea's instructions directed Green to authorize Achille Murat, already in New Orleans, to do the "needfull for me, & to him you will hand your receipt for the check. I hope you will come here before you sail, or I may meet you at St. Marks next week," Macrea wrote.[11]

Meanwhile, Juan Seguin, an influential Texan from San Antonio,

also contacted Green. "Your brother," Seguin wrote Green, "spoke to me in New Orleans and told me that you are anxious to see me; that you had some very interesting business with me in respect to some lands.... He told me that you are anxious that we made a joint purchase of the salt lagoons that are on the other side of the Nueces River." Whether Green ever met Seguin is unknown, but in May 1835, he met another Texan, the notorious slave smuggler and forger Monroe Edwards. While in the Crescent City, the two transferred a 48,000-acre tract of land "with privileges of colonization" for $16,000.[12]

To help smooth the way for his agent, company president Achille Murat wrote a letter of introduction to the Mexican Consul in New Orleans, Francisco Martínez. "I take the liberty to introduce to your acquaintance my particular friend Mr. Thomas Jefferson Green, an inhabitant of Florida who is called by some business to visit Texas. He will call and see you on his way. You will find Mr. Green an accomplished gentleman and pleasant companion, besides a man of business. You will oblige me much if you can be of service to him," Murat wrote.[13]

Soon thereafter, an anxious Murat also wrote Anthony Butler, American ambassador to Mexico, who had been trying to purchase Texas from Mexico since 1830. Murat was concerned about how these purchases would be interpreted should the United States acquire this territory. "A company," wrote the Frenchman, "has been formed in Tallahassee ... which has purchased lands in Mexico on the Red River and has sent an Agent in order to invest more capital in a similar speculation. We know that our title is good under the Mexican Laws, but we feel anxiety to know how Mexican claims will be treated by our government if they should be comprised within the ceded Territory." Murat's experiences in Florida had taught him to be wary. "If a course similar to the one practiced in Florida is adopted there," he wrote, "We have bought nothing but lawsuits and interminable expenses."[14] Finally, Murat urged Butler to take care that any future treaty of acquisition should be written in such a way as to protect good faith purchasers of Mexican lands.

By August 1835 Green had purchased over 100,000 acres of Texas lands. In an advertisement in the *Tallahassee Floridian* on August 15, 1835, entitled "Texas Lands For Sale," Green informed the public that he had purchased 106,656 acres of land along the west bank of the Red River. Green claimed to have obtained "duly authenticicated [sic] titles" of land from the Mexican government. Green also announced that he would return to Tallahassee in September to dispose of the lands on "liberal and reasonable terms." The land was located in the "best cotton region of the Whole Globe ... and were as rich as any lands upon the face of the earth." The land was "well-watered, healthy, and generally Prairie country of exceeding fertility ... not subject to overflow as those low down in Louisiana." Land in the neighborhood, asserted Green, commonly yielded 2,500 to 3,000 pounds of seed cotton an acre. Land on the other side of

the river in the United States was "selling for $30 to $40 per acre. When these facts are known, together with the *confidentially anticipated cession of that country to the United States,* it will be blindness in our citizens in not securing at once, for a paltry sum [land] which will be worth countless thousands." Future purchasers need not worry about land titles because, as Green explained, he had "strong and influential connections in that country which afford[ed] him means of procuring and furnishing good land titles which few if any possess."

In early 1836, Green was in Washington rounding up perspective purchasers for lands, and assessing the political climate *vis-a-vis* the annexation of Texas. "It is true," Green wrote a business associate from the capital, "the Mexican Minister has come to sell Texas to the United States and I have no doubt the sale will be made. Santa Anna is willing to take even less than we are willing to give." Cession was an "absolute certainty," and with the transfer, "all lands would probably rise tenfold."[15]

Meanwhile, events in Texas moved not toward annexation by the United States but toward independence and war with Mexico. In late 1835 a nationalist party had taken control of the Mexican government and the new regime passed a new set of restrictions for their northern provinces. By early January 1836, the American colonists were in revolt and shooting had started. Finally, on March 2, 1836, independence was proclaimed and within days a provisional government was formed under David G. Burnet.

Several of those selected to fill key posts in the Texas Government were well known to Green from his early years in North Carolina. Samuel Carson, Robert Potter, and David Thomas — all members of President David G. Burnet's cabinet — introduced the newly arrived Green to Burnet in San Augustine. At that moment Texas was in desperate need of men and supplies in its war with Mexico, so Burnet acceded to Green's proposal that he be commissioned a brigadier general in the Texas army. Green's commission was contingent on his raising a brigade of volunteers in the United States. On March 19, 1836, Burnet empowered Green to "receive contributions, negotiate loans, and do such things as may be necessary for the completion of your laudable undertaking." Burnet promised to reimburse Green in his recruiting ventures up to the sum of $50,000.[16]

Green also arranged to obtain commissions for Augustus and Willis Alston and Achille Murat, three members of the Tallahassee-Texas Land Company. "Upon your and their appointments," Secretary of State Samuel Carson wrote Green, "allow me to congratulate Texas, believing as I do that we shall receive at your hands prompt and efficient aid." Five days previous to the receipt of his commission, Green had filed his intention to become a citizen of Texas. The application noted that Green was "originally a citizen of the United States ... man of family, thirty years of age and by profession a farmer."[17]

Green traveled immediately to New Orleans, Natchez, and Natchi-

toches to purchase supplies and recruit men for the war. As an inducement to join his ranks, Green offered potential recruits both promises of land and an opportunity to participate in an exciting adventure. Soon after his arrival in the United States, Green wrote Burnet of the enthusiasm he encountered in favor of the independence movement. "Our glorious Declaration," Green informed the President, "together with the inhuman butchery of San Antonio [the Alamo] is working up the Old Spirit of '76 in this land and ere long will roll down upon the invader with a terrible vengeance. We will have considerable Military Stores here soon."[18]

It was in New Orleans, the center of the Texan independence movement in the United States, where Green spent most of his time. Here he recruited volunteers, raised funds, and purchased supplies. On April 5 Green circulated a broadside entitled "To the Friends of Liberty Throughout the World," which explained his mission in the United States and enunciated the Texan cause: "It has Pleased the government of my adopted country to transfer me to my present responsible station, and order me to my native Country, to ask for, and procure for any lawful, rightful, and honorable measure, means of prosecuting our war of National and Religious Emancipation, against a cruel and unrelenting Tyranny." Green recounted the barbarous Mexican atrocities and urged patriotic Americans to join him in the noble cause of Texan independence. Green was prepared to offer "every man ... rank and commission in [his] Brigade in proportion to the number of men he may bring into the field." By now Green had become totally absorbed in the Texan independence movement. Writing loyal subordinate Robert Chester, Green proudly proclaimed, "our cause is upon my tongue and our standard will soon float from the Halls of Matamoros."[19]

Green's honor-filled language was typical of a Southern educated elite that prided itself on being heir to the classical civilizations of Greece and Rome. Flowering his speeches with historical and classical allusions, Green's oratory skills became well-known not only in Florida and Texas, but in other parts of the Union. Indeed, the *New York Spectator,* perhaps sarcastically, labeled him the "peerless wind cloud."[20]

On April 13, 1836, Green wrote Burnet of his recruiting activity. Mentioning that circumstances prevented Achille Murat from accepting his commission, Green added that he had not yet received an answer from the Alstons. Green predicted that 100 volunteers returning by way of New Orleans from Florida's Seminole War would soon join his ranks. They are expected to be "mustered [out] here for payment and disbanding and I have been advised to await their return and have every means prepared ... to take them over to the seat of war. Influential gentlemen of this place are of opinions the largest portion will go over," he wrote. In another letter to Burnet, Green spoke of money problems. "There is nothing like money to be had here for the sale of property, everything now in the money market is in a perfect state of Stagnation. I am willing & have today offered

part of my property for $10,000 less than it is worth, all of which I am ready to advance for the public good." Green's money situation was so desperate that he was forced to appeal to those who had loaned him money in Tallahassee.[21]

Green worked tirelessly that summer. Indeed, William Christy, an associate in New Orleans, wrote President Burnet that it was with "great zeal, ability, and efficiency [that] General Green has accomplished the objects for which he was ordered to this country. No one can possibly form a correct idea of the difficulties he has had to encounter, and which he had nobly surmounted, except those who labored with him. The People of Texas owe him much, and will, I have no doubt, suitably reward him."[22]

By early May, after mounting one last recruiting expedition up the Mississippi River to Natchez, Green was ready to embark for Texas. But before Green left New Orleans with his recruits, he had unfinished business to settle. On May 13, 1836, he met Archille Murat and terminated his involvement in the land speculation scheme which originally sent him to Texas. The agreement between Green and Murat stipulated that the Tallahassee-Texas Land Company "is hereby dissolved by mutual consent." Green, having been "bound to the stockholders acknowledged that their certificates of stock and the books of said company will be delivered by the stockholders ... to the cashier of the Union Bank of Florida in Tallahassee." Upon receipt of the original drafts upon the New Orleans firm of Dicks & Company, the cashier was to return them to their original owners. As a fee for his services, Green received $10 for every share he handled, the money to be credited to his bank account "as full compensation for all his services against" the company. Finally a "mutual discharge and release ... between the parties" was granted.[23] The unsettled state of affairs in Texas, Green's new position in the government, and the Republic's dim view of speculators, forced Green to sever his relations with the company.

For the next six years Green turned his full attention to the military, political, and economic affairs of his adopted nation. Green and his recruits arrived in Texas just after the Battle of San Jacinto. Tense negotiations were under way with Santa Anna, the captured Mexican commander. Once Green learned that Santa Anna might be released, he nearly succeeded in having the dictator lynched for his crimes at the Alamo and Goliad. But fortunately President Burnet arrived on the scene and ordered Green away. Green then proceeded with his men to Victoria, where he became immediately embroiled in a political controversy over the leadership of the Texan army. Sam Houston was in New Orleans recovering from wounds sustained in the Battle of San Jacinto, and his absence left a vacuum in the military leadership. Finally, Thomas Rusk assumed tentative command but the presence of Green and his recruits threatened the stability of his command. David Macomb, an anxious observer and old acquaintance of Green in Florida, commented on the scene just after Green

arrived: "Our army in Victoria contains 2,500. General Green has reached Gen. Rusk's Army but refuses to be commanded by him and therefore keeps aloof; he asserts that his commission is older than General Rusk's. God help the work when the army of Texas is commanded by such a man. You are, I presume, aware that I knew him thoroughly for the last eight or nine years in Florida."[24] Fortunately the leadership crisis evaporated once Houston returned. Over the next several years Green pushed for a series of offensive campaigns against Mexico. His lack of restraint alienated him from Burnet, Houston, and practically all others who favored a cautious course during the remaining years of the Republic.

In the next six years, Green became associated with some of the largest economic enterprises — all failures — in the history of the Republic of Texas. Serving in the first Texan Congress in 1836, he sponsored in the name of himself and other stockholders, the corporate charter of the Texas Railroad, Navigation, and Banking Company, which its creators envisioned as the future Bank of Texas. The scheme failed when the incorporators could not raise the amount for the charter. In 1838 Green and other investors created the Velasco Association which envisioned a thriving seaside commercial and recreation center on the Gulf of Mexico. Before impoverishing its stockholders, the association built a hotel, graded a race track, improved port facilities on the Brazos River, and sold lots to other hapless investors.[25] With the company's bankruptcy went all of Green's savings and by 1841 he had reached a pathetic state. He became so desperate that an acquaintance, after seeing him in Velasco, remarked to a mutual friend in New York: "Poor General Green has his Coat out at the elbows and pockets empty he offered for Congress at the last election, but it was no go."[26]

With economic prospects bleak, Green again turned toward military pursuits. Even though a tentative peace had been established with Mexico, Green's restive spirit still yearned for military greatness. The excuse was renewed border skirmishes between Mexican and American settlers on both sides of the Rio Grande. Mexico had not yet surrendered the territory between the Rio Grande and Nueces Rivers. Green convinced himself that until Matamoros was taken, Texas would never be safe from the threat of invasion. In 1842 Green found himself in command of a retaliatory expedition against Mexico. The campaign accomplished its stated purpose of destroying a number of Mexican border towns, but fearing the presence of a larger Mexican force in the area, the commander of the expedition ordered a withdrawal back to Texas. Disregarding these commands, Green and another officer organized a mutiny, and convinced 300 others to follow them deeper into Mexico. The ill-fated "Mier Expedition" resulted in the capture of Green and the others and a three-month-long imprisonment in Mexico's Perote Castle.[27]

After returning to Texas, Green served briefly in the Texas Congress but in 1845 moved to New York to supervise the editing of his book: *The*

Journal of the Texas Expedition Against Mier, eventually adopted for publication by Harper Brothers. The account vindicated his exploits in Texas and branded Sam Houston and others who disagreed with his policies traitors to the Texan cause. In 1846 he moved to Washington and styled himself a consultant to congressional leaders who sought his advice regarding the annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico. As sectional difficulties mounted, secessionist members of Congress found Green an eager foil against Southern unionist Sam Houston, who represented Texas as senator.

Green seldom if ever returned to Florida. As a result of litigation initiated by fellow shareholder Richard Hayward, his remaining holdings in Florida were seized.[28] After he left Texas in 1845, Green became somewhat of an entrepreneurial nomad. Before dying in 1863 on his plantation near Warrenton, North Carolina, his later life escapades included marriage to a widowed Boston millionairess, election to the California legislature, appointment as a brigadier general in the California militia, the formation of a gold mining company, and his greatest scheme of all — a proposal to build a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific. Unfortunately bad luck, bad timing, or a combination of both, prevented him from ever achieving the wealth that always seemed just within his grasp. Whether depicted as an opportunist, nationalist, or Southern expansionist — Thomas Jefferson Green's career was representative of economic enterprise in the antebellum South.

Most of the other members of the Tallahassee-Texas Land Company met with some tragic fate in the years following Texan independence. Arthur Macon was killed in a political riot at Shell Point in July 1837.[29] Three years later Edmund Vass lost his wife when a tornado struck his residence at St. Marks. In 1840 Vass himself succumbed, as did Samuel Duval, from an attack of bilious fever.[30] In 1838 the Jefferson County bachelor Farquhar Macrea was killed when the steamboat *Pulaski* exploded on its way to Wilmington, North Carolina.[31] Achille Murat divided his time between his holdings in Florida and his legal practice in New Orleans. Before dying in 1847, Murat managed to squander several fortunes in failed business deals and speculation schemes, leaving his widow in tenuous economic circumstances.[32] For Augustus and Willis Alston the years ahead were perhaps the most tragic of all. In 1835 Willis moved to Brazoria, Texas, but returned to Tallahassee in 1839 when Augustus was killed in a politically motivated duel. Alston assassinated his brother's killer, turned himself in, then jumped bail and escaped before he could be tried for murder. Soon after Alston returned to Brazoria he killed a man in an argument and was lynched.[33]

As for the others, interest in Texas lands remained high. On May 24, 1844, an advertisement in the Tallahassee *Star of Florida* offered large tracts of land in the Republic of Texas. Among those acting as agents for the proprietors were Thomas Brown and Richard Hayward. But for those

members of the new defunct Tallahassee-Texas Land Company who survived until the 1840s, such as Brown who became governor of Florida, their future was rooted in the rich soils of Middle Florida's red hills.

NOTES

[1]Leon County, Florida, Deed Book E, p. 224.

[2]Murat was appointed to this post by President Andrew Jackson in 1829. Resigning in 1831, he was replaced by George T. Ward. Tallahassee *Floridian and Advocate*, February 14, 1829, May 12, 1831.

[3]St. Joseph *Times*, August 27, 1839.

[4]On the empresario system, see Reuben McKitrick, *The Public Land and System of Texas 1832-1910*, (Madison, Wisconsin, 1919), pp. 30-5; Aldon Lang, "Financial History of Public Lands in Texas" *The Baylor Bulletin* 35 (July 1932), pp. 28-32. On the controversy between Mexico and the American settlers in Texas, see Richard A. Bartlett, *The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776-1890*, (New York, 1974), pp. 93-101; T.R. Fehrenbach, *Fire and Blood: A Bold and Definitive Modern Chronicle of Mexico*, (New York, 1985), pp. 374-385; George L. Rives, *The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848*, (New York, 1913); Gerald Ashford, "Jacksonian Liberalism and Spanish Law in Early Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 57 (July 1953), pp. 1-37; Eugene C. Barker, *The Life of Stephen Austin*, (Austin, 1825); William C. Binkley, *The Texas Revolution*, (Baton Rouge, 1952); Samuel H. Lowrie, *Culture and Conflict in Texas, 1821-1835*, (New York, 1932).

[5]Green attended a dinner at Apalachicola given in the honor of William P. Duval on September 1, 1832, and offered the following toast which received three cheers from the audience: "The miser's doom to the citizens of Apalochicola, abundance." Tallahassee *Floridian*, October 30, 1832. On September 19, 1835, Green and Arthur Macon were the primary speakers at an anti-abolitionist meeting at Shell Point. Tallahassee *Floridian*, September 26, 1835. For Green's appointments see Tallahassee *Floridian and Advocate*, December 8, 1829; Appointments to Office by the Governor, February 12, 1832 in Clarence Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States: Territory of Florida*, 26 vols. (Washington, 1934-1962), XXIV, p. 660. For Green's activities in the Florida legislative council see Tallahassee *Floridian*, January 25, February 1, 8, 15, 1834. See also M.H.D. Kerr, "Green, Thomas Jefferson," in William S. Powell, ed., *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, (Chapel Hill, 1986), pp. 361-2.

[6]Tallahassee *Floridian*, August 28, 1832, September 19, 1835. An advertisement "Mullet for sale at my Fishery at Shell Point, any quantity of Mullets, fresh or salted" ran from November 3, 1829 to March 2, 1830 in the Tallahassee *Floridian and Advocate*.

[7]Court and deed records reveal numerous dealings between Green and other members of the company. On September 19, 1828 Green witnessed a land transfer between Arthur Macon and Daniel McRaney. Leon County, Deed Book A, p. 489. On August 24, 1830 Thomas Jefferson Green, sitting as justice of the peace, presided over a transaction between Willis Alston and William A. Carr in which Carr sold Alston land on the St. Marks River for $1,800. Leon County, Deed Book C, p. 439.

[8]The club was formed in 1832. Officers were Romeo Lewis, president; Lewis Willis, vice president; Willis Alston, vice president; Thomas Brown, secretary and collector; and Richard Hayward, treasurer. According to one report Thomas Brown's Marion track "would bear comparison with any course in the Union." Tallahassee *Floridian*, September 24, 1832. For more on horse racing in the area see, Dorothy Dodd, "Horse Racing in Middle Florida, 1830-1843," *Apalachee*, (1948-1950), pp. 20-29.

[9]Appointments to Office by the Governor, February 17, 1833, in Carter ed., *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, p. 815.

[10]Leon County, Deed Book E, p. 30-31

[11]Farquhar Macrea to Thomas J. Green, October 14, 1835, Thomas Jefferson Green Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Louis Round Wilson Library, University of North Carolina. Macrea took that fiesta in the summer of 1836. Tallahassee *Floridian*, May 28, 1836.

[12]Juan Seguin to Thomas J. Green, February 4, 1834, Green Papers; Agreement Between Thomas J. Green, May 23, 1835, Green Papers. Monroe Edwards was a slave smuggler and forger. His illegal activities took him to Havana, New Orleans, Mexico, Philadelphia, New York, London, and eventually Sing Sing Prison. Edwards even managed to secure bogus letters of introduction from Secretary of State John Forsyth to pave the way for him in London. See Joseph Eve to Samuel A. Roberts, November 6, 1841, in George Garrison, ed., *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, (Washington, 1980), I, p. 520; James Hamilton to Mirabeau Lamar, December 3, 1840, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, III, pp. 914-16; William Kennedy to the Earl of Aberdeen, September 5, 1843, in Ephram Douglas Adams, ed., *British Correspondence Concerning the Republic of Texas, 1838-1846*, (Austin, 1918), I, pp. 256-57. Territorial Florida newspapers followed Edward's escapades with interest. Tallahassee *Star of Florida*, June 23, September 22, November 10, December 15, 1842; St. Augustine *News*, October 22, 1841.

[13]Achille Murat to Fr. Pisq. Martinez, October 23, 1835, Green Papers, UNC.

[14]Achille Murat to Anthony Butler, November 2, 1835, Green Papers.

[15]Thomas J. Green to Albert Burnley, March 11, 1836, and Thomas J. Green to Coleman and Ward, March 11, 1836, in John Jenkins, ed., *The Papers of the Texas Revolution, 1835-1836*, (Austin, 1973), V, pp. 49-50.

[16]David G. Burnet to Thomas J. Green, March 19, 1836, in William C. Binkley, ed., *Official Correspondence of the Texas Revolution*, (New York, 1936), I, pp. 517-18; David G. Burnet to the Senate, October 1836, *Official Correspondence of the Texas Revolution*, II, p. 1085.

[17]Samuel P. Carson to Thomas J. Green, March 20, 1836, Green Papers, UNC: Kate Hamon Reinhardt, "The Public Career of Thomas Jefferson Green in Texas," (Masters Thesis, University of Texas, 1939), pp. 11-12.

[18]Quoted in Thomas Crowley, "Thomas Jefferson Green in Texas, 1836," (Masters Thesis, Southwest Texas State College, 1972), p. 47.

[19]To the Friends of Liberty Throughout the World, April 5, 1836, in Charles Gulick and Katherine Elliot, eds., *The Papers of Mirabeau Lamar*, (Austin, 1968), I, p. 347; Thomas J. Green to Adolphus McCall, March 30, 1836, and Thomas J. Green to Robert Chester, April 16, 1836, in Jenkins, ed., *Papers of the Texas Revolution*, V, pp. 241-42, 488.

[20]New York *Spectator* quoted in Tallahassee *Floridian*, July 8, 1837.

[21]Thomas Jefferson Green to David Burnet, April 13, 1836, in Crowley, "Thomas Jefferson Green in Texas,'- p. 68-73; Thomas J. Green to David Burnet, April 8, 1836, in Binkley, ed., *Correspondence of the Texas Revolution*, II, pp. 606-07. In a public notice to his business associates in Middle Florida, Green asked that "all persons who are indebted to me by note or otherwise are requested to make immediate payment [to my agents.] I shall be much of my Time in the Western Country." Tallahassee *Floridian*, January 9, 1836.

[22]William Christy to David Burnet, May 14, 1836, Jenkins, ed., *Papers of the Texas Revolution*, VI, pp. 257-58. For more of Green's recruiting activities see Marilyn McAdams Sibley, "Thomas Jefferson Green: Recruiter for the Texas Army, 1836," *Texas Military History* 3 (Fall, 1963), pp. 129-145.

[23]Agreement Between Thomas J. Green and Achille Murat, May 13, 1836, in Crowley, "Thomas Jefferson Green in Texas," pp. 97-8.

[24]David Macomb to James Morgan, July 28, 1836, Binkley, ed., *Correspondence of the Texas Revolution*, II, pp. 898.

[25]Herbert Gambrell, *Anson Jones: The Last President of Texas*, (Garden City, New Jersey, 1948); pp. 88-92, 105-6; Andrew Muier, "Railroad Enterprise in Texas, 1836-1841," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 47 (April 1944), pp. 340-44; William Gouge, *The Fiscal*

History of Texas (New York, 1852), pp. 60-61; William Binkley, *The Expansionist Movement in Texas, 1836-1850,* (Berkeley, 1925), pp. 23-24; William Hogan, *A Social History of the Texas Republic,* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1946), pp. 131-32; Joseph Schmitz, *Culture in the Days of the Texas Republic,* (San Antonio, 1960), pp. 128-29.

[26]James Morgan to Samuel Swartwout, November 1, 1842, quoted in Crowley, "Thomas Jefferson Green in Texas, 1836," p. 20.

[27]Joseph Nance, *Attack and Counter Attack: the Texas-Mexican Frontier, 1842,* (Austin, 1963), pp. 515-22; Joseph Nance, ed., *The Mier Expedition Diary: A Texan Prisoners Account By Joseph McCutcheon,* (Austin, 1978); Llerna Friend, *Sam Houston: The Great Designer,* (Austin, 1954) p. 83; Jonnie Wallis, *Sixty Years on the Brazos,* (Waco, 1967); James Haley, *Texas, An Album of History,* (New York, 1985), pp. 109-13; William Stapp, *The Prisoners of Perote,* (Austin, 1977); Binkley, *The Expansionist Movement in Texas,* pp. 104-05; John Joseph Linn, *Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Texas,* (New York, 1883), pp. 274-75, 312-27.

[28]Tallahassee *Floridian,* February 3, May 19, August 4, 1838.

[29]Tallahassee *Floridian,* July 28, 1837.

[30]Tallahassee *Floridian,* June 14, 1834, June 6, 1840; Jerrell Shofner, *History of Jefferson County, Florida,* (Tallahassee, 1976), pp. 128, 134.

[31]Tallahassee *Floridian,* July 7, 28, December 15, 1838; St. Joseph *Times* quoted in Pensacola *Gazette,* July 21, 1838. Company member Edmund Vass served as administrator of Macrea's estate. Tallahassee *Floridian,* July 28, August 4, December 14, 1838.

[32]Alfred J. Hanna, *A Prince in Their Midst: The Adventurous Life of Achille Murat on the American Frontier,* (Norman, 1946).

[33]James M. Denham, "Dueling in Territorial Middle Florida," (Masters Thesis, Florida State University, 1983), pp. 67-107.

VISIONS OF A NEW FRONTIER: NINETTENTH CENTURY TEXAS GUIDEBOOKS IN THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY AND NEW YORK HISTORICIAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

by Sandra Roff

THESE are the Gardens of the Desert, these
The unshorn fields, boundless and beautiful,
For which the speech of England has no name —
The Praries. I behold them for the first,
And my heart swells, while the dilated sight
Takes in the encircling vastness.[1]

William Cullen Bryant's description in "Prairies of Texas" gave a tempting picture of land waiting to be cultivated, waiting for settlers who would help transform it into the American West's Garden of Eden. By 1837 the slogan "Go West young man, go forth into the Country", was being used to promote the westward movement as a solution to the economic ills of the East.[2] Guidebooks or "how-to" books written first by early adventurers and later by land and railroad developers became a new literary genre.[3] Oregon, California, and Texas were among the localities represented by this type of booster literature;[4] across the country or even from one continent to another, these guidebooks reached out to city and country dwellers alike.[5] The pioneer spirit prevailed and countless adventurers lured by the hope for everything from health to wealth journeyed to their Western utopias.

The booster paper, publishing important information for prospective travellers, assumed part of the responsibility for attracting settlers to newly formed towns, villages, and cities, and it was not unusual for newspapers to precede the settlement of the community.[6] Enthusiastic editors often embellished their descriptions to attract home-seekers and fact and fiction became closely joined. The land was the most fertile, the air the healthiest, and the natives the most friendly — claims hard to resist for those seeking a better life. Texas was one of the earlier western regions to receive publicity in the form of booster literature. The earliest emigrants — those 20,000 who arrived prior to 1830,[7] probably had little to help guide them. However, adventurers who waited found that these new guidebooks gave them information on the supplies needed for their trip, the best routes to travel, and most importantly, what they might expect once they arrived at their destination. A collection of this promotional literature can be found in the U.S. History, Local History and Genealogy Division of the New York Public Library, much of it part of a collection of local history ephemera;[8] a sampling is also available at the New York Historical Society. These primary sources of information bring to life a description of a West previously unknown.

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As early as 1831 a pamphlet was issued by the Arkansas and Texas Land Company;[9] this was followed by hundreds of others either written to insure commercial interests or to relate personal experiences of brave pioneers. Mary Austin Holley, a cousin of Stephen F. Austin, published in 1833 an account of her journey in the Fall of 1831 to Bolivar, a new Texas settlement founded by her brother.[10] In addition to providing general observations on Texas, she included a section for emigrant mothers:

> With a view to emigrant mothers, on whom the comfort of every family, and the general well-being of the infant colony, so much depends, it has been thought that, a journal in detail, one of themselves, would furnish more hints for the judicious arrangements of the voyage and the indispensable attentions to the comfort and economy of an infant establishment, than could be gathered from the more abstract and general views of gentleman travellers ... But the author having ample means of information, may without vanity, indulge one hope, as she professes but one aim — utility.[11]

Mrs. Holley, again attempted to inform her emigrant audience about Texas in her 1836 work:

> Not only are events of stirring interest 'treading on each others heels' with the swiftness of the phantasmagoria displaying characters of no ordinary proportions, but new local advantages, new facilities for the manifold operations of society, and new natural beauties, are constantly developing themselves to excite our wonder and delight.[12]

A.A. Parker, travelling in the Autumn and Winter of 1834-1835, presented an encouraging picture of conditions "out West." The preface to his account stated that "He has given a concise form, such descriptions, incidents and anecdotes only, as he believes may instruct and amuse, and enable the public to form a correct opinion of the country."[13] The possibility that Texas might not be quite the utopia thought was suggested when Parker wrote:

> Texas, like a beautiful damsel, has many charms and attractions, but is not entirely faultless. Indeed, there is no such place as a perfect elysium on earth. And those who have formed their opinion of the country from some of the many late publications concerning it, will feel some disappointment on their arrival.[14]

Dispersed throughout the pages of this volume was his advice on various subjects. He felt that families should travel together to assist one another, and that the Fall was the best time of the year to journey to Texas and other western areas.[15] Probably the best advice he gave was that "emigration, like matrimony, ought to be fully considered; as a bad move in this particular, is attended by many evils, and cannot be remedied."[16]

The 1830s proved to be a productive decade for Texas guidebooks, and several more personal narratives appeared on the market. The Mexican dispute over Texas was of concern to prospective settlers, and several narratives addressed the political climate of the period. *Texas, Sketches of Character; moral and political condition of the Republic; the judiciary,*

& and *Three Years in Texas. Including a view of the Texan Revolution, and an account of the principal battles, together with descriptions of the soil, commercial and agricultural advantages, &* are two such examples.[17] The primary attraction at this time was free land. The Republic was generous and the law stated that any family man who settled in Texas between March 1836 and October 1837 would receive 1,280 acres of free land. A reduction was later made to 640 acres, but this was still a sizable holding for any family.[18]

Dr. Joseph E. Field claimed in the preface to his volume that he originally was enticed to visit Texas by newspaper accounts.[19] Being one of the few early authors who mentioned the subject of religion in his book, he tried to console those who feared Texas might be a heathen land:

> That fair portion of the Mexican territory, called Texas, which has become, of late, the theatre of so much relentless barbarity and bloodshed, early attracted the attention of the first settlers of that country, particularly of the religious part of the community. There are standing at this time, within nine miles of the town of San Antonio de Bera, four Catholic churches,... Some of these, in a state of the greatest perfection, bear date [sic] as early as the commencement of the last century.[20]

David B. Edward, in *The history of Texas; or the emigrant's, farmer's and politician's guide to the character, climate, soil and productions of that country; geographically arranged from personal observation and experience,* stated in his preface that he aimed "to stress a neutral course, between the extravagant representations of the monopolizing land speculator, and the unwarrantable scurrility of the viciously prejudiced — prejudiced because they found wanting a capital, as in older countries, and because hardships were to be endured, as in every new country, before idleness could be indulged or luxuries obtained!"[21] Although he described the physical beauty of Texas and its easy accessibility, he also discussed such problems as land speculation. His true feelings, however, were evident when he wrote: "There is no better advice than 'to let well enough alone.' *Ipso facto,* all changes may be for the worse as well as better; and what we are used to though not so good as might be, may suit us better."[22] This advice probably gave some readers reason to decide against taking on the challenge of settling this new land. Richard S. Hunt and Jesse F. Randel, in a narrative written in 1839, also presented an encouraging picture of Texas as the land of opportunity, but candidly stated: "Should the slaves of Mexico invade your homes, you will have the satisfaction of knowing that those homes are richly worth defending."[23]

Those not discouraged by the guidebooks of the 1830s found that a new assortment appeared in the 1840s to quell their curiosity. Several of these authors emphasized the spiritual concerns of the emigrant. Reverend A.B. Lawrence,[24] wrote both *Texas in 1840* and *A History of Texas,* published in 1845. In the introduction to the earlier work he stated, "Should the influence of this little work ... induce many Christians to

plant in that country the germs of the future churches of the Redeemer, the writer and publisher will be entitled to the thanks of the community, and the consciousness of having done good to their fellow men, both in temporal and spiritual concerns."[25] Spreading Christianity was also an aim of Orcenth Fisher in *Sketches*. He wrote that "If this little work shall ... be the means, under God, of furthering the holy cause of Christianity among the people there, by inducing Christians and Christian ministers to direct their energies to that portion of their work of this favorable juncture, the author will feel himself amply compensated."[26]

Guidebooks presenting personal recollections continued to appear on the market into the 1860s. Those narrators who actually resided in Texas hoped that by sharing their experiences with the reader they would lure emigrants with tales of wealth and success:

> A country, in short where to my knowledge there are plenty of men who are worth from ten to one hundred thousand dollars and who, but a few years ago, had hardly a dollar they could call their own, and many of whom, had they remained in their native countries, would most undoubtedly have remained there forever poor, and at this time getting their daily bread with their daily labor, instead of being as they are among the wealthiest of this naturally great and delightful country, doing what they do at their leisure or pleasure.[27]

During the same decades when personal narratives achieved popularity, guidebooks also appeared to promote commercial ventures. The Galveston Bay Company, organized in 1830 to encourage colonization of its Texas land grants, expounded the opportunities awaiting settlers in the *Address to the reader of the documents relating to the Galveston Bay and Texas land company which are contained in the appendix*.[28] Browsing through this volume, the reader found page after page of praise, if not for the climate, then for transportation or inexpensive land. "Among the inducements to imigration presented by this interesting country, the facility and cheapness of access to it, are by no means inconsiderable."[29] Few other examples of early Texas commercial interest guides have survived, even though other companies, such as the Texas, Agricultural, Commercial and Manufacturing Company and the Texas Emigration and Land Company were formed and settled during this period.[30]

Migration to Texas slowed during the Civil War and in fact actually retreated. The agricultural frontier along the entire eastern border of the Great Plains remained about the same from 1850 to 1875.[31] During Reconstruction the promise of the Republican Party to develop the West was added impetus for settlers to venture to the new frontiers.[32] The commercial guidebook gained popularity and the Texas legislature in 1871 created the Bureau of Immigration which published its own promotional literature that was distributed in the United States and abroad. According to the *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Immigration* (1874), the demand for these pamphlets was greater than the supply:

> The appropriations made by the Thirteenth Legislature for the collection, printing and distribution of maps, statistical and other information had been exhausted by my predecessor, leaving me no fund with which to purchase maps (of which there was none turned over to me), advertise, collect and publish for distribution such statistical and other information as the law contemplated, and proper answers to the numerous questions I was receiving from all parts of the country demanded.[34]

The Superintendent of the Bureau of Immigration, J.B. Robertson, pleaded in the annual report for funds to support the efforts of his bureau based on the claim that agents of other states actively publicized the attributes of their regions and on occasion actually misrepresented Texas. He felt that those who now requested information about Texas and its advantages were intelligent farmers, manufacturers, and miners who would greatly benefit the development of this Western state.[35] Robertson argued that if Texas distributed publications about Texas, "this great tide of immigration would be idly turned and brought into our State, from which it would take but a few years to make her population have to be estimated by millions (sic) of intelligent, thrifty tillers of her virgin soil, giving life and vigor to her commerce, manufactories, and prosperity, unparalleled to her industries."[36]

Texas the Home for the Emigrant, from Everywhere was the publication of the Superintendent of Immigration for the State of Texas in 1875. As was the claim of many previous guidebooks, this pamphlet aimed "to give true and reliable information upon all subjects relating to this Empire State."[37] Presented was a glowing account of the opportunities awaiting the settler in a variety of occupations:

> The rich will find here profitable fields of enterprise for their wealth. The cunning hand of the mechanic will find profitable employment and fair reward; the Farmer and Laborer will find cheap land, a mild and healthy climate, a fertile soil, reliable seasons and a market in a convenient distance for the products of his labor.[38]

The future was bright for those who chose Texas as their new home — a future filled with endless possibilities to achieve happiness and success: "Each day and year is marching her onward and upward, which her merits and intrinsic worth entitle her to, and they will be hers."[39]

Transporting the emigrant to this land of "milk and honey" became easier with the post-Reconstruction development of a complex railroad system. Land companies formed by the railroads published pamphlets to attract those willing to work and offered them farm lands for a small down payment and liberal terms.[40] A publication in 1873 by the Texas Colonization, Land and Trust Company described the advantages to farmers of settling in Texas as opposed to Kansas or Arkansas and recommended the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad for the trip.[41] A *Circular of the Texas Colonization, Land and Trust Company with a brief description of Texas, Northwestern Texas and Young Country* focused on North-Western Texas:

> NORTH-WESTERN TEXAS, and more particularly the country of YOUNG and counties adjacent thereto, in its large tracts of rich and unoccupied lands and unsurpassed advantages in other respects, offers to the settler, and capitalist seeking profitable and secure investment, numberless and unequalled opportunities to secure competence and wealth.[42]

This was just the beginning of a period of growth for Texas supported by commercially-backed literature that promoted nearly every section in Texas.

Railroad companies distributed guidebooks in the 1870s without charge to the prospective pioneer at home as well as abroad. *Bryant's Railroad Guide*, spreading news of growth and progress in Texas, was free to those interested.[43] The promise to increase the number of pages and subjects covered in the next issue of the guide proved there was a commitment on the part of the railroads to promote "the general upbuilding and development of our State."[44] Among the varied subjects covered in the pamphlet was advice to travellers that warned the novice of unknown dangers. "Never delay — so as to have to run yourself to death to catch a train and then perhaps, as a penalty for your indescretion, get your leg crushed in your attempt to get on while the train is in motion."[45] The popular testimonial approach used in the section "Notes of Travel in TEXAS" attempted to convince the public of the credibility of the guide. An example was a letter dated November 17, 1875:

> I would say to an honest and honorable people wishing to come to Texas, that they will find this, upon the whole, the finest State in the Union, and will find Texans a hospitable whole souled people, and among them less of the old bitterness left as the result of the war, than is to be found in any other State."[46]

This was not the only guidebook for emigrants which used the testimonial to make its claims more believable. The Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Railroad Company, in its *Description of Western Texas*, stressed that the statements made would be backed by the names of men who could vouch for their validity:

> The reader is neither asked nor desired to receive the description of this country, and its social condition, without testimony. If he is a Mason, an Odd Fellow, or a Patron of Husbandry, he will find the names and addresses of the officers of these fraternities, to whom he can apply, and from whom he can ascertain whether that which is said, is not substantial truth.[47]

Railroad companies continued their efforts to entice settlers to Texas. The Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway promoted the "Empire State" in its literature appropriately written by a forty-year resident of Texas, a fact enabling "him to speak with confidence on the subject treated of."[48] The General Passenger Department of the Missouri Pacific Railroad Company in 1890 tried to attract men and women by providing detailed information on ways to acquire public lands.[49] The Union Pacific similarly dealt

with the subject and gave the impression to its readers that they must quickly make a decision since the supply of land was running low. "Think on these things. Then act promptly if you expect to get your choice of the cheap lands."[50]

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, towns and counties throughout Texas already had been settled, providing an opportunity for guidebook literature to present the changes and report on the successes of the communities. Kerr County, Texas, by the publication date of its guidebook in 1880, had experienced hard times, but was now claiming to be a productive, healthy place to live and work:

> It was [Guadelupe Valley] settled by German colonists twenty-five years ago, who at first experienced almost starvation, Indian raids, pestilences and poverty; but they struggled through and to-day the town contains a thrifty and prosperous population of nearly 300, several good stores, a good hotel, mills, cotton gins and all the other concomitants of a thriving place ... Surely in the light of this no immigrant should despond because of ill luck at first.[51]

Allaying fears of the dangers of living in an "untamed" land was important if the author was to attract new settlers. "Outlaws and desperados are of the past, no homicide having been committed here since 1876, while Indian raids are also at an end, none having taken place since Sept. 1878, and the settlements west being now so strong that none need be feared. In short, life and property, are as safe here as in the North or in England."[52] To make Kerr County even more attractive a description of its healthy climate appeared, a subject of concern to health-conscious Americans believing in the curative qualities of water: "For pulmonary diseases this locality is especially recommended, while some mineral wells relieve dyspepsia, etc."[53]

In addition to guidebooks aimed primarily at attracting Americans to Texas, there were also those produced with the specific purpose of enticing the foreign born. Germany was experiencing a period of political upheaval and the lack of economic opportunity for its workers during the 1840s. The industrial revolution of the eighteenth century had left its mark on the Germans. The new improved machinery replaced many workers formerly employed in hand-work, leaving many unemployed and with no prospects for the future.[54] The stage was set for the new books written by Germans to glorify life in Texas. Ferdinand Roemer, in his *Texas,* informed his readers about the geology of Texas, while G.A. Scherpf, in a work published in 1841, claimed that his purpose was to provide information about Texas to help those considering emigration.[55] The guidebooks accomplished their task and the Germans came to Texas in substantial numbers during the 1840s and 1850s, leaving their impact on the economic, political, and social life of Texas for the decades to follow.[56]

The English were also early enthusiasts of Texas, and they, too, write articles, books, and pamphlets for propaganda purposes.[57] O'Neill, in *The*

Guide to Texas, emphasized the fact that Texas was now attracting settlers from Europe as well as America and emigrants from France, Germany, Great Britain, and Ireland could now be counted among its new inhabitants. The author stated that his object was to provide an account of the country, its resources, prospects, and political condition — not unfamiliar topics for writers of guidebooks.[58] He did, however, warn his readers by stating the following:

> Those persons, however, who are established in comfort and competency, with an ordinary portion of domestic happiness, who have never been far from home, and are excessively attached to personal ease, who shrink from hardship and danger, and those who being accustomed to a regular routine of prescribed employment in a city know not how to act on emergencies, or adapt themselves to all sorts of circumstances, had better stay where they are.[59]

Unfortunately this work was not based on the author's experiences but was a mosaic taken from an Galveston Bay Company pamphlet published in 1831 and the early guidebook, *Texas,* by Mrs. Holley.[60] The English writers who were to follow succeeded in providing their audiences with accounts written after actually inhabiting Texas and reporting on their findings.

Arthur Itkin, in his guidebook published in 1841, provided the prospective English emigrant with a "concise and cursory, but at the same time, practical account of Texas."[61] The cheap land and the possibility of trade between England and America were especially appealing to the English, and this book helped to promote the Texas colonization project of Itkin and his father. The author resided in Texas for a short period, and accepted an appointment as consul. He never actually served since the English treaties were not ratified until June 28, 1842, and by that time his successor already had been selected.[62]

The merging of diverse cultural groups from Europe with the pioneers who ventured into Texas from other parts of the United States helped shape the uniqueness of this western state. In the early years guidebooks were usually the first and possibly only description the prospective emigrant had of life in Texas. The embellishment of these books with glorious descriptions of abundance and fertility gave credence to the myth of the garden, which argued that the main force in the future of the West was agriculture.[63] The authors romanticized Texas as the land of opportunity, waiting for the industrious and pious to labor with love in a land where the rewards would be great. The warnings and negative elements often mentioned in the guidebooks probably did not affect the readers as much as the advantages which most authors diligently noted. The American booster spirit thrived on taking chances and the hope was always present that by moving they would find the ideal place to settle and call home.[64]

NOTES

[1]William Cullen Bryant, "Prairies of Texas," in *A History of Texas, or the Emigrant's Guide to the New Republic; by a Resident Emigrant, late from the United States* (New York, 1845), p. 274.

[2]Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (New York, 1950), p. 234.

[3]Helen B. Knoll, "The Books that Enlightened the Emigrants," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 45 (June 1944), pp. 105-06.

[4]Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York, 1965), p. 68; Knoll, "The Books that Enlightened the Emigrants," pp. 105-07.

[5]Jan Blodgett, *Land of Bright Promise: Advertising the Texas Panhandle and South Plains, 1870-1917* (Austin, Texas, 1988), p. 101; David M. Emmons, *Garden in the Grasslands: Boomer Literature of the Central Great Plains* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1971), p. 78.

[6]Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience*, p. 130.

[7]Katherine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, Reprints of Economic Classics, Vol. 2 (New York, 1969), p. 98.

[8]Sandra Roff, *Texas Uncatalogued Local History Ephemera in the U.S. History, Local History and Genealogy Division of the New York Public Library* (New York, 1986).

[9]Arkansas and Texas Land Company, *Emigration to Texas* (Bath, England, 1832).

[10]Thomas Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas 1795-1845*, III (5 vols., Cambridge, 1960), pp. 128-129; Mary Austin Holley, *Texas* (Baltimore, 1833); J.P. Bryan, ed., *Mary Austin Holley: The Texas Diary, 1835-1838* (Austin, 1965).

[11]Holley, *Texas*, p. 15.

[12]Mary Austin Holley, *Texas* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1836), p. v.

[13]A.A. Parker, *Trip to the West and Texas*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1836), p. iv.

[14]Parker, *Trip to the West and Texas*, p. 222.

[15]Parker, *Trip to the West and Texas*, pp. 161, 223.

[16]Parker, *Trip to the West and Texas*, p. 204.

[17]Henry Thompson, *Texas, Sketches of Character; moral and political condition of the Republic; the judiciary, &c* (Philadelphia, 1839); Joseph E. Field, *Three Years in Texas* (Greenfield, Mass., 1836: reprint ed., Austin, Texas, 1935).

[18]T.R. Fehrenback, *Lone Star: A History of Texas and the Texans* (New York, 1968), p. 282.

[19]Field, *Three Years in Texas*, pp. iii, iv.

[20]Field, *Three Years in Texas*, p. 5.

[21]David B. Edward, *The history of Texas; ...* (Cincinnati, 1836), p. viii.

[22]Edward, *The history of Texas; ...*, p. 279.

[23]Richard S. Hunt and Jesse F. Randel, *Guide to the Republic of Texas; ...* (New York, 1839), p. 51.

[24]*Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 17 (January 1914), p. 298, cited in Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas 1795-1845*, part iii, vol. 2, p. 327.

[25]*Texas in 1840, or the Emigrant's Guide to the New Republic; being the result of observation, enquiry and travel in that beautiful country*, introduction by Reverent A.B. Lawrence (New York, 1840), p. xxii.

[26]Orceneth Fisher, *Sketches. Texas in 1840* (Springfield, Illinois, 1841; reprint ed., Waco, 1964), p. viii.

[27]*Western Texas, the Australia of America; or the place to live by a Six Years' Resident* (Cincinnati, 1860), p. vii; similar accounts are found in Melinda Rankin, *Texas in 1850* (Boston, 1850) and in W.B. Dewees, *Letters from an Early Settler of Texas*, 2nd ed., compiled by Cara Cardelle (Louisville, Kentucky, 1858).

[28]Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas 1795-1845*, vol. 3, p. 115; Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company, *Address to the reader of the documents relating to the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company, which are contained in the appendix* (New York, 1831).

[29]Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company, *Address to the reader of the documents relating to the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company, which are contained in the appendix*, p. 29.

[30]Bascom Giles and Curtis Bishop, *Lots of Land* (Austin, Texas, 1949), p. 139.

[31]Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (New York, 1931), p. 184; Homer Lee Kerr, "Migration into Texas 1860-1880," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 70 (October 1966), pp. 184-216.

[32]Smith, *Virgin Land*, p. 202.

[33]Lee Van Zant, "Early Economic Policies of the Government of Texas," *Southwestern Studies* 4, no. 2 (1966), p. 9.

[34]*Annual Report of the Superintendent of Immigration of the State of Texas For the Year 1874* (Houston, 1874), p. 4.

[35]*Annual Report of the Superintendent of Immigration of the State of Texas For the Year 1874*, pp. 11-12.

[36]*Annual Report of the Superintendent of the State of Texas For the Year 1874*, p. 7.

[37]*Texas the Home for the Emigrant, from everywhere* (Houston, 1875), p. 1.

[38]*Texas the Home for the Emigrant, from everywhere*, p. 1.

[39]*Texas the Home for the Emigrant, from everywhere*, p. 11.

[40]Giles, *Lots of Land*, p. 269.

[41]*Valuable Information to Immigrants desiring to come to the State of Texas, furnished by the Texas Colonization, Land and Trust Company* (Texas, 1873?), p. 1.

[42]*Circular of the Texas Colonization, Land and Trust Company with a brief description of Texas, Northwestern Texas and Young Country* (Grayson County, Texas, 1873?), p. 1.

[43]*Bryant's Railroad Guide! The Tourists' and Emigrants' Hand-book of Travel* (Austin, Texas, 1875), p. 6.

[44]*Bryant's Railroad Guide! The Tourists' and Emigrants' Hand-book of Travel*, p. 9.

[45]*Bryant's Railroad Guide! The Tourists' and Emigrants' Hand-book of Travel*, p. 4.

[46]*Bryant's Railroad Guide! The Tourists' and Emigrants' Hand-book of Travel*, p. 17.

[47]Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Railway Company, *A Description of Western Texas*, compiled by M. Whittdin (Galveston, Texas, 1876), pp. 3-4.

[48]Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway, *Free Guide to Kansas and Texas* (St. Louis, 1876), p. 2.

[49]General Passenger Department of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company, *Statistics and Information concerning the State of Texas ...* (St. Louis, 1890), p. 19.

[50]Passenger Department Union Pacific, *Texas* (St. Louis, 1892), p. 106.

[51]*A Book of Plain Facts relative to Kerr County, Texas designed for immigrants and invalids seeking a healthy and profitable locality* (Kerrville, Texas, 1880), p. 1.

[52]*A Book of Plain Facts relative to Kerr County, Texas designed for immigrants and invalids seeking a healthy and profitable locality*, p. 3.

[53]*A Book of Plain Facts relative to Kerr County, Texas designed for immigrants and invalids seeking a healthy and profitable locality*, p. 4.

[54]Chester William and Ethel Hander Geue, eds., *A New Land Beckoned: German Immigration to Texas, 1844-1847* (Waco, Texas, 1966), p. 1.

[55]Ethel Hander Geue, *New Homes in a New Land. German Immigration to Texas 1847-1861* (Baltimore, 1982), pp. 13, 27; Ferdinant Roemer, *Texas* (Bonn, 1849); G.A.

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[56]William and Geue, *A New Land Beckoned: German Immigration to Texas, 1844-1847,* p. vii.

[57]Mary Lee Spence, "British Impressions of Texas and the Texans," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 70 (October 1966), p. 163.

[58]Neal John O'Neill, *The guide to Texas* (Dublin, 1834), pp. vii-viii.

[59]O'Neill, *The guide to Texas,* p. 44.

[60]Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas 1795-1845,* vol. iii, p. 143.

[61]Arthur Itkin, *Texas: its history, topography, agriculture, commerce, and general statistics* (London, 1841; reprint ed., Waco, 1964), p. vi.

[62]Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas 1795-1845,* vol ii, part iii, p. 350.

[63]Smith, *Virgin Land,* p. 139.

[64]Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience,* pp. 95, 127.

LIFE AND DEATH AMONG THE LONE STAR DEFENDERS: CHEROKEE COUNTY BOYS IN THE CIVIL WAR

by Douglas Hale

The Civil War is too remote for most of us to comprehend, though hundreds of thousands of Americans are still fascinated by this central event in our national experience. New information about the great struggle becomes available every year. Civil War books by the carload attract legions of armchair campaigners, while more energetic armies of reenactors sweat and suffer in their determination to recapture the brutal essence of Shiloh, Gettysburg, or Chickamauga. Yet in spite of the thousands of books — notwithstanding the proliferation of images through photographs, motion pictures, and television — it becomes ever more difficult for us to imagine what life and death were like in the middle of the nineteenth century. The last of the old soldiers have been gone for more than a generation. The supersonic pace of technology, the torrest of social change, and the cacophonous din of our global culture separate us ever more widely from that remote time in which the internecine violence played itself out. A prodigious leap of the imagination is necessary to propel ourselves backward into the setting of the Civil War and perceive it as it actually occurred.

My own efforts to grasp the reality of the war have led me to concentrate upon a limited number of participants in the conflict, focus my attention upon the localized landscape from which they sprang, and attempt to reconstruct their lives. A Confederate company consisted of little more than a hundred men, and most of these original volunteer units were raised within the same locality. Typically, a single county provided almost all the recruits in a company: the men were literally brothers, cousins, and neighbors to each other. By so delimiting my investigation to an individual company of men, it is possible to come to know them all — from captains to privates — and more important, perhaps, to become familiar with the rural Southern environment that produced them. Seen against the larger background of the war, the lives of these men may teach us lessons, and we may arrive at insights that have eluded us before.

For these reasons, therefore, I have chosen to study the lives and military experiences of the soldiers in Company C of the Third Texas Cavalry, a unit raised in Cherokee County, and sketch their composite portrait. This essay attempts to identify these men according to their social, economic, and political status and explain their regional and occupational backgrounds. Moreover, it is my purpose to trace briefly the involvement of this unit in battle throughout the war, describe the impact of death through combat or disease, and assess the incidence of attrition caused by wounds, desertion, or disability. Finally, I cannot refrain from cautious

speculation concerning the impact of wartime experience on the lives of the veterans.

Seven types of sources make this study possible. The first consists of unpublished journals and letters written during the war.[1] Published memoirs have also proven useful. Though most of the men of Company C were reticent or negligent in recording their impressions and perceptions of battle, Cherokee County is fortunate in that one of the most accurate and detailed eye-witness accounts by a Confederate soldier, Sam Barron's *Lone Star Defenders,* was written and published by a member of Company C.[2] The third category of source material is derived from the copious official military records themselves, notably *The War of the Rebellion.*[3] In addition, the surviving service records of the men in the ranks have been used extensively.[4] In order to explain who these young volunteers of 1861 were and where they came from, I have relied upon the biographical material available in the population schedules of the Census of 1860.[5] Valuable insights into the postwar circumstances of the men in the company may be obtained from the veterans' pension records at Austin.[6] Finally, several recently published collections of local biography and history filled out the picture.[7]

Company C had its inception in the wave of patriotic enthusiasm that swept across the South in the wake of the fall of Fort Sumter in April 1861. The Texas governor immediately issued a call for 8000 volunteers for the Confederate Army and appointed a number of distinguished citizens to recruit and train troops throughout the state. Among those so charged was Brigadier General Joseph L. Hogg, a veteran of the Mexican War, delegate to the Secession Convention of the previous January, and the most prominent political leader in Cherokee County. Hogg had little difficulty in recruiting the requisite men, for Cherokeans were in a defiant and bellicose mood. In the referendum of the previous February, county voters had opted by a majority of 1106 to thirty-eight for secession from the Union. By May 1, Hogg had enlisted a hundred men who styled themselves "The Lone Star Defenders." Some of the recruits dropped out prior to mobilization, but sixty-two of their number remained in the unit to form the nucleus of Company C.[8]

Like other Confederate volunteer companies, the Lone Star Defenders elected their own officers. The men chose Francis M. Taylor, the thirty-three-year-old district clerk, as their captain. He owned seven slaves and $4300 worth of land; he was the son of a former speaker of the state House of Representatives; and he showed himself to be a forceful commander. When, for example, Private George Buxton, a chronic drunk and inveterate brawler, involved himself in an altercation with civilians, Taylor subdued him by pinning him down on a manure pile while his sergeant applied copious bucketfulls of cold well water to Buxton's prostrate form.

Taylor came from the little community of Larissa, the home of a Presbyterian college, which, with an enrollment of 125 students, provided

an oasis of genteel cultivation amid the pine-clad hills rising steeply above the Neches River bottom. Stirred by Taylor's example, fifteen former students of the college joined the company. Other young men of some prominence in the county were chosen to fill the slate of officers. First Lieutenant James Barker, a lawyer at Rusk, was courting General Hogg's daughter when he enlisted. Second Lieutenant Frank Daniel was the son of a state legislator, and Third Lieutenant James A. Jones served as justice of the peace.[9]

As the young volunteers practiced their cavalry drills at Rusk, word arrived that Colonel Elkanah B. Greer of Marshall was raising a regiment for the Confederate Army, and the Cherokeans rushed off to Dallas, then "a pretty little town near the Trinity River," to rendezvous with nine other East Texas companies which were to form Greer's command.[10] On June 10, 1861, Taylor's recruits received a rousing send-off from the 500 people who made up the population of Rusk. General Hogg delivered a stirring speech, and with farewells and good wishes ringing in their ears, the Lone Star Defenders hurriedly set out for Dallas in a mood of "merriment and good cheer."[11]

Upon arrival, the Cherokee County unit took the designation of Company C, Third Texas Cavalry Regiment, added a few latecomers to its roster, and found a bivouac in a grove of oaks a few miles east of town. Drawing their water from the well of a local butcher and converting a nearby farmhouse into a makeshift infirmary, the young recruits began to adapt themselves to the unfamiliar routine of army life, basking all the while in the unrestrained hospitality of the enthusiastic Dallasites.[12] The local belles were particularly delighted by the descent of a thousand young cavaliers into their midst, and the Cherokeans were equally impressed by the pulchritude of these "Prairie Girls." A young private confessed to his sister that in Dallas he found "some of the best-favored girls, nearly, I ever saw."[13]

Of the 114 volunteers who rode to Dallas in Captain Taylor's command, Cherokee County provided more than four-fifths; the few remaining came from neighboring counties. For the most part, they were just the right age to be soldiers: the median age of privates in the company (twenty-three) matched closely that of other Confederate units from Texas. There were, however, three sixteen-year-old boys among them, all students: William Herndon lived on a Pine Town plantation that employed thirty-eight slaves; William Newton was the son of a Larissa slaveholder; and Rufus Smith's father was one of the founders of the village of Knoxville. William Hood, a fifty-one-year-old, English-born mechanic, took the honors for seniority, but he did not last long; Hood was discharged as unfit for service within a few months. All but seven of Taylor's men had been born in Southern or Border states. The largest proportion, thirty-four percent, hailed from Alabama, while Tennessee followed close behind with twenty-one percent. Besides Hood, there were only two others in the

unit who had been born abroad: John Hanson, a Danish shoemaker; and John F. Dunn, from Ireland. Both later deserted the company after two years' service. Only eighteen original members of Company C were heads of families.[14]

The social and economic status of the volunteers point to the fact that Cherokee County occupied a middling range of affluence between the extensive and prosperous plantation agriculture of some of its neighbors to the east and the poor subsistence farming practiced in the prairie counties lying to the north and west. In terms of per capita wealth, the white people of Cherokee County owned about 1.6 times as much property as those of Hunt County, which lay in the still largely undeveloped Blackland Prairie region, but less than a third as much as the inhabitants of Harrison County, on the Louisiana border. In 1859, Harrison County produced 21,440 bales of cotton, Cherokee 6,251, and Hunt only twenty-two. Cherokee County was neither rich nor poor; it was about average.[15]

The county was new country. Almost all its inhabitants had been on the land but fifteen years when the Civil War began. The rude cabins of the frontiersmen were only gradually giving way to the more comfortable clapboard dwellings of farmers and planters, as the great cotton boom of the 1850s made possible the accumulation of fortunes in land and slaves. Though making for an agreeable and scenic landscape, the red hills of Cherokee County were not ideally suited for extensive cultivation. The railroad had not yet penetrated the county's boundaries, and its streams were too shallow to permit riverboat transportation. Beyond an occasional blacksmith shop, gristmill, sawmill, or gin, no manufacturing existed.[16]

In terms of economic status, then, the Lone Star Defenders represented an average slice of East Texas society. In those days, wealth was measured on a smaller scale than by today's standards. There was but a single millionaire in the whole state in 1860, and only 263 Texas citizens owned more than $100,000 worth of property. Land in Cherokee County sold for an average of $2.79 per acre, and $20 was a good monthly wage for a farmhand. By these standards, a person with $20,000 to his name was well off indeed. In fact, the average white Texas household owned but $6393 worth of property.[17]

Young Reuben Thompson's family owned more property — $54,840 — than any other represented in the company, but he came from wealthy Harrison County. Seven Cherokee County recruits belonged to households possessing estates worth at least $30,000; eight others came from families which listed no property at all in the Census of 1860. Most of the men sprang from yeoman farmer stock, which had moderate holdings in land or slaves. While the four original officers of Company C lived in households which held an average of $11,100 in property, the mean household wealth of the 110 enlisted men was $7935, about one and a quarter times the state average.[18]

Since land in frontier Texas was cheap, the chief measure of wealth was slaves. There were 3246 black bondsmen in Cherokee County in 1860, or twenty-seven percent of the total population of 12,098. They could be sold for an average of about $765 each, and thus constituted over half the total property in the county when the war began. Relatively few white Texans possessed slaves: only twenty-nine percent of all households did so. However, since half the boys in Company C came from households employing slave labor, they probably had a greater than ordinary interest in the future of slavery and the security of their property. Yet most of these soldiers represented families that owned but a few slaves each: the median number of slaves per household was seven.[19]

Most of the boys in Taylor's company were still too young to have accumulated much property or achieved any prominence themselves, but a number of them came from well-to-do families. Of those recruits who had been engaged in agriculture, about one-fifth came from the planter class, some three-quarters from yeoman farm families, and only seven percent from poor households owning less than $250 in property. While three-quarters of all white East Texans made their living from agriculture, the backgrounds of the Lone Star Defenders suggest a more diversified group. Little more than half of those recruits who listed their occupations in the census were engaged directly in farming. About thirty percent were either students or professional men, including six lawyers and three physicians. Dr. James M. Brittain, for example, practiced medicine at Griffin, while Drs. Washington L. Gammage and William W. McDugald served the people of Rusk.[20]

That the company attracted a number of young men of promise is attested by the fact that besides Taylor and Daniel, numerous other scions of prominent families enrolled in its ranks. Private Thomas Jackson was himself a former state legislator and mayor of Rusk, and Corporal Thomas Woodall served as county commissioner. John B. Reagan, the eighteen-year-old nephew of the Confederate postmaster general, enlisted as a private, as did Tom Hogg, the eldest son of the general. County officials seemed to vie with each other in dispatching sons to battle for the cause: Corporal Pomeroy Coupland was the son of a county judge, and County Commissioners Hosea Jones, John W. Phillips, and William Roark sent sons to the service as well. Private John W. Smith's father founded Jacksonville, while that of Felix Hardgraves erected the town's first school. Private William Moseley's father built the first courthouse in Rusk.[21]

Though there were a few brawlers, misfits, and malingerers among their number, the Lone Star Defenders were as a rule the best and the brightest youths Cherokee County could muster, and their respective sires were anxious that the young men acquit themselves with honor, courage, and devotion to duty in the face of the dangers awaiting them. Sheriff William T. Long, for instance, admonished his son by letter against the shame of desertion:

> John, I want you to go as far as the company goes & not to return till the company returns unless sickness causes you to have to return. Graham [, absent without leave,] is here John, & Everyone is hissing him everywhere he goes. I would rather never see you again than for you to come off as he has.[22]

Sheriff Long need not have worried: his son, like most of his comrades, would prove himself a tough and resourceful soldier during four years of hazard and hardship.

After tarrying almost a month in Dallas awaiting the delivery of supplies, their regiment struck out to the north on July 9, 1861. The Cherokeans forded the Red River and trekked across Indian Territory to join Brigadier General Ben McCulloch's Confederate army at Fort Smith, Arkansas. McCulloch was then awaiting a propitious moment to drive a Union force commanded by Brigadier General Nathaniel Lyon out of Missouri. After considerable hesitation, the Rebels engaged the enemy on August 10 at Wilson's Creek, near Springfield. Though the battle produced a Confederate victory, McCulloch's losses were heavy.[23]

The Cherokee County company emerged from its first encounter relatively intact, however, with but one man killed and three wounded. Private Leander Cole, a twenty-two-year-old Larissa farmer, paid for his audacity on the battlefield with a mortal wound from a Yankee rifle, and thus became the first Cherokean to die in battle in the Civil War. James E. Dillard, a lawyer-turned-private, received a disabling wound in the leg; Judge Coupland's son, Pomeroy, suffered a slight head injury; and T. Wiley Roberts incurred a flesh wound in the neck which so unnerved him that he avoided combat for the rest of the war.[24]

A further fourteen members of Company C were dropped from the rolls shortly after the battle. Some were promoted out of the unit. Captain Taylor's younger brother, James, was transferred as a captain to the Seventeenth Texas Cavalry, and Private Woodson Wade, a former student at Larissa, went with him. Orlando Doty got his own company command in the Twenty-Eighth Texas Cavalry, and Private James Park became a company commander in a Georgia regiment. Dr. Gammage was assigned as regimental surgeon to an Arkansas unit, while Dr. Brittain was sent home to care for the sick in Cherokee County. Seven others were discharged honorably as physically unfit for hard campaigning. Captain Taylor simply left the chronic misfit, Private James Gum, behind at his home in Missouri, glad to be rid of him, while Hiram Donaho, who was too sick to fight, remained in Texas, where he soon died.[25]

Hardly had the troops undergone their baptism of fire at Wilson's Creek than they were beset by an epidemic of typhoid, measles, and dysentery that struck McCulloch's army as it moved from one encampment to another in southwest Missouri. Most of the young soldiers had led relatively isolated lives among the sparsely populated hills and valleys of the South. Abruptly thrown together in unhygienic camps, they were

exposed to infections for which they had never developed an immunity, and scores of McCulloch's men sickened and died. While Company C escaped the most severe ravages of disease, five of the Cherokee County boys died that autumn. The most conspicuous loss was Captain Taylor himself, who succumbed to typhoid at Fayetteville, Arkansas, on November 12. Lieutenant Jones took over command of the company.[26]

With the coming of cold weather in December, the Rebel troopers repaired to Winter quarters near Van Buren, Arkansas. They had just settled in, when they were ordered out to chase a band of Creek Indians who had sided with the Union across the snowy hills and prairies of what is today eastern Oklahoma. At Chustenahlah, just north of present-day Tulsa, Company C formed part of a contingent that fought a pitched battle with the Indians on December 26. The Cherokee Countians joined their comrades in charging up a rocky hillside into the camp of the enemy and routed them all the way to Kansas without losing a man.[27]

Back in winter quarters, the troopers enjoyed a reasonably comfortable respite until their new commander, Major General Earl Van Dorn, ordered them out again late in February 1862. This time their officers led them through the frigid passes of the Ozarks to confront a Federal army under Brigadier General Samuel R. Curtis at Pea Ridge, in northwestern Arkansas. The battle, which consumed most of March 6 and 7, turned into a Confederate disaster. But owing to pure chance, the boys in Company C were left to watch the carnage as spectators from the sidelines. Jones lost but three men wounded: Privates Joe Welch; William Phillips; and Alfred Summers. All three later rejoined the company.[28]

Meanwhile, the focus of the war shifted to southern Tennessee, where Brigadier General Ulysses S. Grant advanced against a Rebel strongpoint at Corinth, Mississippi. Van Dorn ordered the Texans' horses sent back home, while he shipped his men from Arkansas to Mississippi by riverboat and railroad in April 1862. In the crowded Confederate encampment at Corinth, many hundreds more died of disease that spring. Three privates from Company C — John Baker, James Cooper, and John Stovall — succumbed to illnesses contracted in the pestilential camps. The most notable Cherokee County victim, however, was General Hogg himself, who had come to Corinth to take over a brigade.[29] When the Rebels evacuated the town ahead of the Union advance on May 29, Company C served as part of their rear guard. This entailed the loss of three Cherokeans killed: James Barker, who had been promoted to major; Sergeant Wallace Caldwell, of Rusk; and Corporal Pomeroy Coupland. Private John Lambert was disabled by a wound.[30]

While the attrition of battle and disease diminished the number of Lone Star Defenders but gradually, a law passed by the Confederate Congress in April 1862, administered a sudden and costly blow to the strength of the company. This Conscription Act required a reorganization of the [illegible] While the law imposed a draft on most adult white

males throughout the South, it also had the effect of deferring certain categories of men, including those younger than eighteen and older than thirty-five, from further service. As a result, twenty-six soldiers from Company C — a fourth of its original complement — were discharged as too old, too young, or disabled.

For example, the Acker brothers, Christopher and Peter, forty and thirty-eight years old respectively, returned home. Forty-year-old Charles Pierce rejoined his family in the Seven Leagues community of Smith County, and Private William Hammett, age forty-three, returned to his place at Antioch. Some of the younger men who were discharged reenlisted in other Confederate units. Tom Hogg joined the Arizona Brigade of Texas Volunteers; James A. Barnett enlisted in the First Texas Partisan Rangers; Rufus Smith later enrolled in the Eleventh Texas Infantry. Other discharged soldiers became part of the flotsam of war and never came home at all. Ex-Sergeant Howell Harris, for instance, loitered around Company C's camp until Private Edward Wallace of Pine Town shot him dead as a suspected thief.[31]

Reorganization also entailed a new election of officers and non-commissioned officers, and the entire company command changed hands. James A. Jones was confirmed as captain, but all twelve original lieutenants, sergeants, and corporals were replaced by generally younger and presumably hardier men. The mean age of the original company cadre had been twenty-nine years; that of the new was only twenty-four. In the meantime, new recruits trickled into the ranks. Even before the company left Arkansas, a dozen boys had hurried up from East Texas to join their kinfolks in the ranks before they missed out on the war entirely. William J. Bass, for example, had a brother already serving in the unit, as did Joel Halbert and John Wesley Wade. The Keahey brothers, Sam and William, also joined up in Arkansas. But already the pool of available manpower at home was drying up, and the number of new recruits fell far short of replacing the three-score troops already dead, discharged, or incapacitated by wounds or illness.

Their most lethal single day of the war, September 19, 1862, still loomed before them. In the Battle of Iuka, Mississippi, Lieutenant General Sterling Price sent his Texas troops in frontal assault against masked Federal cannon, with predictable consequences. The Cherokee County company lost four dead: Privates William Bowers; Carter Caldwell; William Crawley; and William T. Harris. John Felps was wounded severely. Less than a month later, General Van Dorn ordered his army, of which Company C was still a part, to charge the Union fortifications around Corinth. The resulting casualties were appalling, but once again good fortune kept the Cherokeans out of the midst of the battle. They did not come away unscathed, however; Captain Jones was mortally wounded. Lieutenant John Germany, a thirty-two-year-old clerk from New Salem, Rusk County, was promoted to take his place as commanding

officer. Sergeant William McCain and Private Edward S. Wallace also incurred wounds, but not so severe that they could not return to duty. Privates LaFayette Gresham and John Long were captured, but Long escaped and Gresham subsequently was paroled.[32]

Late in the fall of 1862, the boys from Cherokee County got their horses back and became cavalrymen again after seven months of marching through Mississippi as footsoldiers. That December their regiment joined a column of 3500 raiders whom Van Dorn led in a lightening assault against Grant's supply depot at Holly Springs, Mississippi. They captured millions of dollars' worth of Union stores and burned many millions more. Some of the boys made themselves unroariously drunk on the liberated Yankee liquor supply, and Private William Pennington, a former bricklayer from New Salem, found $20,000 in greenbacks which he proceeded to hawk around in exchange for $5 in silver. The Holly Springs Raid was a memorable exploit. Before Company C returned to its base near Grenada, Mississippi, however, it lost Private Alva Box, who fell on Christmas Eve in a futile attack on a Federal strongpoint at Middleburg, Tennessee.[33]

Since the Confederate army of General Braxton Bragg now appeared threatened by a Union advance south from Nashville, the Lone Star Defenders were ordered with their regiment to the Tennessee front in January 1863. They fought their biggest battle in that quarter at Thompson's Station the following March. Private Beecher Donald, a Denton County boy who had been attending school at Larissa before the war, was killed. Privates David Allen and Benjamin Long were wounded but recovered sufficiently to return to duty. Also injured, Corporal A.G. Carmichael wound up in a Yankee prison.[34]

In May 1863, Company C's regiment was recalled to Mississippi to help General Joseph E. Johnston in his vain effort to thwart Grant's massive offensive against the Confederate stronghold at Vicksburg. Determined to starve the Rebels out, Grant drew a cordon of 71,000 Yankees around the Confederate earthworks to the east of the city, while his gunboats shelled the fortress from the river below. The Lone Star Defenders harassed the attackers from the rear, ambushed Federal foragers, and dashed up and down the bluffs between Yazoo City and Vicksburg in pursuit of Yankee raiding parties. But the Rebel bastion fell to the enemy on July 4, and the state capital of Jackson surrendered two weeks later.[35]

For the next nine months during the Fall and Winter of 1863, the Cherokeans bivouacked on the bluffs and in the river bottoms between Vicksburg and Jackson and fought frequent skirmishes in an effort to hold the line in western Mississippi. Their regiment was assigned to Brigadier General Lawrence S. "Sul" Ross's Texas Brigade, and the men renewed their endurance and resolve under his leadership. Ross's men participated in a pitched battle against black troops near Yazoo City and earned a reputation for ruthless ferocity toward the former slaves. The Lone Star defenders smuggled arms across the Mississippi River during the Winter

and raided Union supply points on the Vicksburg front. The following Spring, they joined in a foray to northern Alabama in pursuit of Union sympathizers among the natives. Their only casualty in this operation was self-inflicted: Private Luther Grimes fell into an argument with his fellow Cherokean, James Ivy, and shot him dead.[36]

In May 1864, the Confederate command summoned the Texans to north Georgia to assist in the defense of Atlanta, now under attack by Major General William T. Sherman. At that time there were still forty-six officers and men on the roster of Company C, but twenty-four of them were absent on special duty, ill in hospitals, held as prisoners, or had failed to keep up with their unit. Their absentee rate of forty-three percent was typical of that which prevailed in the Confederate Army as a whole. It would constitute a crucial factor in the military defeat of the South.[37]

For 112 days during the Summer of 1864 the men from Cherokee County found no respite from combat on the Atlanta front, but their casualties were light. Company C lost but one man killed: William Kellam, a private from Rusk County, fell on the first day he came under fire. Four others were wounded, including Captain Germany, who was rendered unfit for service for several months. Sergeant Cicero Smith and Corporal William T. Phillips were captured and confined to the Federal prison at Camp Douglas, Illinois. Smith died there of remittent fever; Phillips survived. After a campaign that lasted half a year, the coveted prize of Atlanta fell to Sherman's triumphant forces on September 1.[38]

Two months later, Company C joined Lieutenant General John B. Hood's march into Tennessee in a desperate gamble to carry the war into the North again. The East Texans saw action at Spring Hill and Franklin in November 1864, but fortunately escaped the bloody debacle at Nashville the following month, since they had ridden off under the command of Lieutenant General Nathan B. Forrest on a raid against the Yankee fortress at Murfreesboro. The Lone Star Defenders then served as part of Hood's rear guard in the retreat of his shattered army out of Tennessee, losing but two men wounded and one captured in the process.[39] Though Hood's main army was demoralized in defeat, the rear guard remained "undaunted and firm and did its work bravely to the last."[40]

For most of the Spring of 1865, as the Union consolidated its victory, the troopers from Cherokee County remained relatively inactive on picket duty near their base at Canton, Mississippi. About half of the soldiers in their regiment were given long-overdue furloughs in February, and these men made their way across the flooded Mississippi Valley to return to East Texas even as the war was grinding toward a close. Still others departed for home without benefit of leave. In all, nine of the Cherokeans deserted during the course of the war. By its end, absenteeism ran to about sixty percent of those Confederate soldiers still on the rolls, and Company C was no exception to this rule. As part of Lieutenant General Richard Taylor's command, a remnant of the Cherokee County unit

surrendered on May 4, 1865, at Citronelle, Alabama. Of the 135 men who had served in the company, only thirty-two were left in the field to surrender.[41]

In a war that had taken a quarter million Confederate lives, the casualties inflicted upon the boys of Company C were surprisingly light, however. Excluding sixteen men on the company rolls whose fate cannot be determined, there were 119 soldiers who have been accounted for throughout the war. Eighty-eight of them, or almost three-quarters, survived. Fourteen Lone Star Defenders were killed in battle, sixteen died from the effects of disease, and one was killed by a comrade. Their rate of battle deaths (twelve percent) compared favorably, for example, with the sixteen percent of the First Texas Infantry Regiment, Hood's Brigade, who were killed in action. But the proportion of men in Company C who are known to have died from disease (thirteen percent) was slightly higher than the twelve percent of the First Texas. In addition to those killed in action, twenty-one of the Cherokeans were wounded at least once, and eleven were captured by the enemy.[42]

The relatively moderate casualties incurred by the Cherokeans may be attributed primarily to fortuitous circumstances. Owing to chronic confusion in the Confederate command, Company C was left on the sidelines during three of the bloodiest encounters of the war in the West: the Battle of Pea Ridge (March 6-7, 1862); the Battle of Corinth the following October; and the Battle of Nashville (December 15-16, 1864). Moreover, as cavalrymen, the East Texans generally pursued mobile and wide-ranging tactics and were thus less frequently subjected to suicidal infantry charges, such as those General Hood mounted during the latter phase of the Atlanta Campaign. The gradual attrition of the unit was more a consequence of the inefficacy of Confederate military policy than either Yankee bullets or the ravages of disease.

In summary, these first volunteers from Cherokee County represented for the most part the substantial agrarian class of their region, with a higher than average incidence of slave ownership and political influence among their families. Like Texans in general, they embarked upon their great crusade more in the capricious spirit of youths on a holiday than as grim defenders of the cause of Southern rights that was so often trumpeted by their elders. Their sense of duty and their local loyalties kept these men at their posts long after any hope for an eventual victory had evaporated. But at the end, they lay down their arms and returned home, eager to establish families and resume normal lives.

Future research on the Cherokee County company might well focus upon what happened to the eighty-eight known survivors of the unit after the war and how their later fortunes reflected the larger history of the South in the postbellum period. In the meantime, and on the basis of admittedly incomplete evidence, I am tempted to speculate that the experience of the war did not disrupt the lives of the Lone Star Defenders

or affect their region nearly as much as has often been assumed. Though emancipation ended forever their slave-based economy, the introduction of the share-cropping system provided a means for the continued reliance upon black labor for cotton production. The brief experiment at racial equality during Reconstruction was thwarted by white resistance, intimidation of the freedmen, and the eventual abandonment of the effort by the Federal government.

In Cherokee County, veterans of Company C were in the forefront of the restoration of white supremacy by violence. Bitter in defeat, they vented their resentments against the blacks, who suddenly had been elevated from servitude to the status of citizens. Former Private Eugene W. Williams, for instance, celebrated the first anniversary of Lincoln's assassination with a toast to John Wilkes Booth:

> Here is to the man that pulled the Trigger
> That killed the man that freed the Nigger.[43]

Veterans John Long, James Dillard, Sam Barron, John Reagan, and Lemuel Reed organized the first Cherokee County chapter of the Ku Klux Klan.[44] "The negroes [sic] have been giving some trouble," Long confided in a letter from the Autumn of 1865, "but by hanging & shooting one every once and a while, they have become more docile."[45] All five klansmen attained success in local or state politics. Long found his way to the United States Congress, and Dillard served in both the Texas House of Representatives and Senate. Barron won election to the offices of county clerk and county judge, Reagan fulfilled the duties of sheriff for almost twenty years, and Reed served as justice of the peace.[46]

Did the consequences of defeat in 1865 impoverish the veterans of Company C, or did their economic status remain at about the same level as it had attained in the antebellum decade? At this point no definitive answer can be offered, though unquestionably a number of the Lone Star Defenders ended their lives in a state of abject penury. To be eligible for a Confederate veteran's pension under legislation passed in 1899, an applicant had to prove his indigency and disability.[47] At least fifteen of the veterans of Company C, or their widows, lived long enough and were poor enough to qualify for state aid under these provisions. Former Private Sam Keahey was only sixty-two when he obtained a pension in 1899, but already was palsied to the extent [that he was] scarcely able to feed himself."[48] Calvin Roark, whose father had owned seventeen slaves before the war, possessed "one horse valued at about $10 — nothing else," when he applied for a pension in 1906.[49] Such men as these drew from $79 to $100 per year from the state pension fund. Most likely these instances of elderly poverty had more to do with the price of cotton and the perils of growing old in nineteenth-century America than with the consequences of the Civil War, however.

Finally, future researchers might inquire into the development of these

veterans' attitudes and value systems as the bitterness of war receded into the past. Did they become reconciled to the progressive ideal of the "New South," or did they entrench themselves in a vision of the bygone social order which they had fought to defend? The evidence available to me suggests that the veterans remained "unreconstructed" to the last, eager to vindicate the Old South and its role in the coming of the war. In an address delivered near the end of his life, John Long declared:

> The North charged us with trying to destroy the Union. The very contrary is true ... That element of the North which stood for the destruction of slavery, stood for the destruction of everything material in the South ... We asked them to leave us alone ... But in consequence of [the] existence of slavery in the South and the Purpose of a certain element in the North to destroy it and impede our rapid progress, ... they declared for the freedom of the negro [sic] by confiscation ... They openly asserted through official expressions that they delighted to witness the destruction of the South's property and the 'starvation and want among our women and children.'[50]

Thus did the last survivors of the Lone Star Defender's carry the arguments of 1860 deep into the twentieth century, still unresolved and unreconciled.

NOTES

[1]Documents pertaining to Company C are included among the John Benjamin Long Papers, File 2E234, and the Demetria Ann Hill Collection, File 2E232, Barker Texas History Center, Austin.

[2]Samuel B. Barron, *The Lone Star Defenders: A Chronicle of the Third Texas Cavalry Regiment in the Civil War* [hereinafter cited as *LSD*] (New York, 1908; 1983 reprint ed.).

[3]U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* [hereinafter cited as *OR*] (128 vols., Washington, D.C., 1880-1901).

[4]U.S. National Archives and Record Service, *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Texas* (Washington, D.C., 1960), Microcopy No. 323, Rolls 18-23.

[5]U.S. National Archives and Record Service, *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860* [hereinafter cited as *Population Schedules*] (Washington, D.C., 1967), Microcopy No. 653, Rolls 1287-1308.

[6]See Confederate Pension Records, Texas State Library and Archives, Austin, and Ogreta W. Huttash, comp., *Civil War Records of Cherokee County, Texas* (2 vols., Jacksonville, 1982).

[7]John A. Templeton, ed., *Cherokee County History* [hereinafter cited as *CCH*] (Jacksonville, 1986); Helen W. Crawford, comp., *Early Probates and Wills of Cherokee County, Texas* (Jacksonville, 1983); *Jacksonville: The Saga of a Dynamic Community* (Jacksonville, 1972).

[8]"Roll of Lone Star Defenders," File 611.1, Texas State Archives; *LSD*, pp. 17-18; Robert C. Cotner, *James Stephen Hogg: A Biography* (Austin, 1959), pp. 4-5, 10-19; Frank H. Smyrl, "Unionism in Texas, 1856-1861," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* [hereinafter cited as *SHQ*], LXVIII, (October, 1964), p. 193.

[9]Helen W. Crawford, comp., "Larissa College, Larissa, Texas — 1857-1860" (Typescript, Tyler Public Library, Tyler), pp. 5-8, 17-19, 29-31; T.L. Baker, *Ghost Towns of Texas* (Norman, Ok., 1986), pp. 81-82; Fred H. Ford and J.L. Brown, comps., *Larissa* (New

[10]Douglas J. Cater, *As It Was: The Story of Douglas John Cater's Life,* edited by William D. Cater (San Antonio, 1981), p. 86.

[11]*LSD,* p. 19.

[12]Cotner, *Hogg,* pp. 3-4; *LSD,* pp. 17-23; Victor M. Rose, *Ross' Texas Brigade* [hereinafter cited as *RTB*] (Louisville, Ky., 1881, 1960 reprint ed.), pp. 16-18.

[13]John B. Long to Eliza Long, Dallas, June 22, 1861, John B. Long Papers.

[14]Data on ages, states of birth, counties of residence, occupations, wealth of households, and number of slaves are drawn from *Population Schedules.* Of the 114 soldiers on the original roll for Company C, 102 men, or eighty-nine percent, were identified on the schedules. See also Ralph A. and Robert Wooster, " 'Rarin' for a Fight'; Texans in the Confederate Army," *SHQ,* LXXXIV, (April, 1981), pp. 394-395.

[15]Per capita wealth per white inhabitant was calculated from data in *The Texas Almanac for 1862* (Galveston, 1862), p. 31, and U.S. Interior Department, Census Office, *Eighth Census, 1860: Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington, D.C., 1864), pp. 484-486. See also U.S. Interior Department, Census Office, *Agriculture in the United States in 1860* (Washington, D.C., 1864), pp. 140-145; Randolph B. Campbell, *A Southern Community in Crisis: Harrison County, Texas, 1850-1880* (Austin, 1983), p. 52; Cecil Harper, Jr., "Slavery Without Cotton: Hunt County, Texas, 1846-1864," *SHQ,* LXXXVIII, (April, 1985), p. 389; and Terry G. Jordan, "The Imprint of the Upper and Lower South on Mid-Nineteenth-Century Texas," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* LVII, (December, 1967), pp. 667-690.

[16]*CCH,* pp. 7-24.

[17]Ralph A. Wooster, "Wealthy Texans, 1860," *SHQ,* LXXI, (October, 1967), pp. 163-165; *Texas Almanac for 1862,* p. 31; Vera L. Dugas, "Texas Industry, 1860-1880," *SHQ,* LIX, (October, 1955), p. 155, fn. 8; Richard G. Lowe and Randolph B. Campbell, "Wealth-holding and Political Power in Antebellum Texas," *SHQ,* LXXIX, (July, 1975), p. 27.

[18]Property values per household are available for 101 officers and men of Company C.

[19]*Population of the United States in 1860,* pp. 472-473, 477, 479, 484. For the average value of slaves, see Campbell, *Southern Community in Crisis,* p. 64, and Otto H. Olsen, "Historians and the Extent of Slave Ownership in the Southern United States," *Civil War History,* XVIII, (June, 1972), p. 112, fn. 40.

[20][20]Occupations were listed in the *Population Schedules* for ninety-seven officers and men on the original roll. The categories of agricultural wealth are derived from Campbell, *Southern Community in Crisis,* pp. 31-42. Gammage died in the service in April 1865, but not before his book, *The Camp, the Bivouac and the Battlefield* (Selma, Ala., 1864), appeared in print. On Brittain, see *CCH,* pp. 54, 184.

[21]*CCH,* pp. 30, 38, 54-55, 66, 77-82, 115, 363, 381, 410, 420-421, 479-480, 525-526, 552-553, 701.

[22]W.T. Long to John B. Long, Rusk, July 2, 1861, John B. Long Papers.

[23]*OR,* Ser. 1, Vol. III, pp. 118-120; Albert E. Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West* (Baton Rouge, 1968), pp. 39-46.

[24]*LSD,* pp. 42-49, 53-54, 150.

[25]*LSD,* pp. 52-53, 57; Huttash, *Civil War Records,* II, p. 94; Crawford, "Larissa College," p. 17; *CCH,* pp. 38, 185, 445-446; William S. Spear and John H. Brown, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the New West* (Marshall, Tex., 1881), p. 265; Crawford, *Early Probates and Wills,* p. 25; "Co. C, 3rd Tex. Cav.," Demetria Ann Hill Collection.

[26]*LSD,* pp. 59-62.

[27]*OR,* Ser. 1, Vol. VIII, pp. 22-25; *RIB,* pp. 42-45; Dean Trickett, "The Civil War in Indian Territory," and Leroy H. Fischer and Kenny A. Franks, "Victory at Chusto-Talasah," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XVIII, (September, 1940), pp. 266-280, and XLIX, (Winter, 1971-72), pp. 452-475.

[28]*OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. VIII, pp. 293-294; *LSD*, pp. 63-76; Robert G. Hartje, *Van Dorn: The Life and Times of a Confederate General* (Nashville, 1967), pp. 122-127.

[29]*LSD*, pp. 79-95; T. Harry Williams, *P.G.T. Beauregard, Napoleon in Gray* (Baton Rouge, 1955), pp. 151-155.

[30]*OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. X, Pt. 2, pp. 583-584.

[31]*LSD*, p. 101; *CCH*, p. 119; Huttash, *Civil War Records*, II, p. 41; Lowell H. Harrison, "Conscription and the Confederacy," *Civil War Times Illustrated* [hereinafter cited as *CWTI*], IX, (July, 1970), pp. 10-19.

[32]*OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. XVII, Pt. 1, pp. 119-124, 376-382, 385-389; *LSD*, pp. 104-126; Glenn W. Sunderland, "The Battle of Corinth," and Albert E. Castel, "Battle Without a Victor ... Iuka," *CWTI*, VI, (April, 1967), pp. 28-37, and XI, (October, 1972), pp. 12-18.

[33]*OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. XVII, Pt. 1, p. 503; *LSD*, pp. 131-142; *RTB*, pp. 84-92; Hartje, *Van Dorn*, pp. 254-267; Bruce F. Dinges, "Running Down Rebels," *CWTI*, XIX, (April, 1980), pp. 10-18.

[34]*OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. XXIII, Pt. 1, pp. 116-118, 123-124; *LSD*, pp. 144-151; *RTB*, pp. 92-94; Hartje, *Van Dorn*, pp. 275-294.

[35]*OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 3, pp. 956, 989, 1016; *LSD*, pp. 161-168; *RTB*, pp. 108-110.

[36]*OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. XXXI, Pt. 3, pp. 879-880, and Vol. XXXII, Pt. 1, pp. 385-391, Pt. 2, p. 823; *LSD*, pp. 173-189; Judith A. Benner, *Sul Ross: Soldier, Statesman, Educator* (College Station, 1983), pp. 96-102; Edwin C. Bearss, "Misfire in Mississippi: McPherson's Canton Expedition," *Civil War History*, VIII, (Dec., 1962), pp. 401-416; Ed. M. Main, *The Story of the Marches, Battles and Incidents of the Third United States Colored Cavalry* (New York, 1970), pp. 93-122.

[37]Richard E. Beringer, *et al.*, *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (Athens, Ga., 1986), pp. 479-481.

[38]*OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. 3, pp. 962-965, Pt. 5, pp. 995-996; *LSD*, pp. 190-236; Wilbur S. Nye, "Cavalry Operations Around Atlanta," John W. Rowell, "McCook's Raid," and Richard H. McMurry, " 'The Hell Hole': New Hope Church," *CWTI*, III, (July, 1964), pp. 46-50, XI, (February, 1973), pp. 32-43, and XIII, (July, 1974), pp. 4-6, 8-9, 42-48.

[39]*OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. XLV, Pt. 1, pp. 767-773; *LSD*, pp. 251-253, 275-276; Robert S. Henry, *"First With the Most" Forrest* (Indianapolis, 1944), pp. 385-415; Thomas A. Wigginton, "Cavalry Operations in the Nashville Campaign," *CWTI*, III, (December, 1964), pp. 40-43.

[40]Major General George H. Thomas, as quoted in *OR*, Ser. 1, Vol. XLV, Pt. 1, p. 42.

[41]*LSD*, pp. 267-275; Beringer, *Why the South Lost the Civil War*, p. 480.

[42]Beringer, *Why the South Lost the Civil War*, p. 478; Harold B. Simpson, *Hood's Texas Brigade: A Compendium* (Hillsboro, Tex., 1977), pp. 533-538.

[43]E.W. Williams to John B. Long, Pickens Station, Miss., April 16, 1866, John B. Long Papers.

[44]Sue E. Moore, "The Life of John Benjamin Long," (Unpublished master of arts thesis, University of Texas, 1924), pp. 52-55.

[45]J.B. Long to Nellie and Aunt Nin, Rusk, Oct. 10, 1865, John B. Long Papers.

[46]*CCH*, pp. 83-91, 97-98, 185, 381-382, 701; Tommy Yett, comp., *Members of the Legislature of the State of Texas from 1846 to 1939* (Austin, 1939), pp. 57, 69, 78, 135, 247; *Confederate Veteran*, XVII, (November, 1909), p. 569; and XX, (June, 1912), p. 284.

[47]Pensions were restricted to veterans who owned a homestead or personal property worth no more than $1000 and had an annual income of less than $300. See Phillip D. Lissner, "Confederate Pensioners of Texas," and Perry M. De Leon, "What the South is Doing For Her Veterans," and "How the South Cares for Its Veterans," *Confederate Veteran*, XXIII, (June, July, 1915), pp. 255, 333, and XXIX, (September, 1921), pp. 366-367.

[48]Confederate Pension Application No. 4189, Texas State Archives.

[49]Huttash, *Civil War Records*, II, p. 77.

SCIENCE AND THE SACRED: THE EVOLUTION CONTROVERSY AT BAYLOR, 1920-1929

by John Davies

By 1920, most Americans knew of the theory of evolution. In the Gilded Age such well-known Protestant thinkers as Henry Ward Beecher and Lyman Abbot wrote on evolution and tried to reconcile some aspects of Darwinian thought with Christianity. Often called modernists, these men and other liberal thinkers did not win the theological battle outright, however. The growing secularization of the Gilded Age and the further inroads of liberal theology and higher biblical criticism led many conservative Christians to believe that the basic truths of their faith were under assault. Consequently the publishing of a multi-volume work, *The Fundamentals,* between 1910-1915, had as its goal the defense of divine inspiration and the inerrancy of the Bible. The next decade saw these fundamentalists lead a nationwide movement against evolution and modernism.

The fundamentalists reacted to a post-war apathy towards institutional protestantism, the spread of the teaching of evolution in the public schools, and the belief that there was a growing skepticism among America's youth. They also felt that the American family was disintegrating, and pointed to the nation's increased divorce rate as evidence of this fact. They also related recent political events to evolution. They linked the horrors of German aggression during World War I to Nietzsche, a "neurotic German philosopher," who "hypnotized the German mind with his pagan brute philosphy" that could be traced back to Charles Darwin. In their minds, Darwin's principle of "might is right" did not die with Germany's defeat. Rather, it took on a new appearance in the atheistic communism of Russia. All these factors, then, led fundamentalists to maintain that the foundations of Christian America lay in peril, and they traced nearly every social, political, and religious difficulty to the theory and teaching of evolution. For these reasons anti-evolution became the shibboleth of the fundamentalist movement in a nationwide controversy that reached its climax in the 1920s. In its wake the controversy placed a serious challenge at the doors of academic freedom in Texas and the rest of the nation was well.[1]

As president of a Baptist university during the evolution controversy, Samuel Palmer Brooks, the son of a Baptist minister and a graduate of Baylor and of Yale University, showed remarkable resolve in balancing the fundamental truths of the Baptist denomination with the dictates of academic freedom. The evolution controversy that erupted at Baylor in the 1920s was significant for two reasons. It represented an important chapter in the history of one of the largest denominations in Texas as well

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as a major assault on the principles of academic freedom. In its wake, the controversy confused, if not divided, the Baptists, spawned a caustic war of words in the Baptist press, and resulted in the resignations and maligned character of several competent teachers. Baylor thus was an example of several secular and denominational colleges which faced this major challenge to preserve the integrity of education.

The controversy began in 1920 when Grove S. Dow, a professor of Sociology at Baylor, published a textbook. As soon as his *Introduction to the Principles of Sociology* came off Baylor's press it generated a heated debate. Fundamentalists took exception to two particular statements in Dow's work. Dow stated that primitive man was "about halfway between the anthropoid ape and modern man." Regarding the origin of man, he said, science was even more uncertain. Scientists simply did not know whether man decended from a single pair, and further the Bible itself was not clear — "at least our interpretation of the Bible does not clear up the matter."[2]

These statements rubbed the fundamentalist sensibilities of many Baptists the wrong way. That same year Jasper C. Massee, president of the newly-formed World's Christian Fundamentals Association, had warned against false teachers in Baptist colleges and seminaries. Concerned fundamentalists charged that professors at Baylor were "teaching Evolution as certainly as Darwin did and other infidelicnonsense [sic]." In the Summer of 1921, Lee R. Scarborough, the president of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, warned Brooks that confidential information revealed that three or four Baptist newspapers were going to mount a vigorous campaign against rationalism, evolution, and destructive criticism of the Bible because it was having an adverse effect on public education and the Baptist schools.[3]

Possibly under this mounting pressure, Dow responded to his critics. He admitted mistakes in the way he phrased certain "objectionable" parts of his *Introduction.* He asserted that these passages did not convey his true intent. He then published a creedal statement in the *Baptist Standard* that reaffirmed his Christian and Baptist fidelty. Despite Dow's text being adopted by several colleges and universities, he immediately began to make acceptable revisions for a new edition.[4]

Dow's recantation was not sufficient for many fundamentalists. Moreover, both Dow and his course were popular at Baylor, and possibly fundamentalists saw his popularity as too great a threat to orthodoxy. The school newspaper, *The Lariat,* defended Dow, pointing out "the difference between the great truth of evolution of all forms within the special limits, and the antiquated materialism of an atheistic zoologist." Hundreds of students supported Dow in a petition. Further, the students issued a statement testifying that Dow had taught the theory along with other theories only to give the students some understanding of these theories, and that he had repudiated the Darwinian theory both in class and in

With the onset of the new school year in the Fall of 1921, the Dow controversy worsened. This resulted largely from the efforts of J. Frank Norris. As the leading critic of Baylor, he more than any other person, was responsible for prolonging the controversy for nearly a decade. Like Brooks, Norris was a Baylor graduate. While at Baylor, he announced his desire "to preach in the greatest church and pulpit in the world." Norris also was graduated from the Baptist seminary in Louisville, Kentucky. In 1909 his wish was fulfilled. He was called to the First Baptist Church of Fort Worth, which grew to be the largest Protestant church in the nation. His aggressive, flamboyant style, and his relentless campaign against alcohol, prostitution, and corrupt politics led one admirer to describe him as a "militant churchman of the modern type .... If a fellow throws a brick-bat at him, the thrower can count on getting two back."[6]

Norris knew the power of the written word and he used it effectively. He served as editor of the *Baptist Standard,* the major organ of Texas Baptists, but 1902 he resigned because of a disagreement with denominational leaders over his flair and sensationalism. Later he started his own newspapers, the *Searchlight* and *Fundamentalist*. Thriving on controversy, uncompromising, and with a penchant for showmanship and sensationalism, Norris used his papers to attack Baylor and its "infidels." Throughout this "heresy hunt," with a circulation of over 150,000 at their peak, his papers kept Baptists confused and divided and helped prolong the controversy.

The *Searchlight* published excerpts from Dow's book in October 1921. Norris accused Dow of teaching "rank Darwinism" and chastised the *Baptist Standard,* a paper sympathetic to Baylor, for not publishing all the facts concerning the case. Throughout the Fall semester, Norris' attacks continued. He discovered a Baylor graduate at the seminary in Fort Worth "all shot through and through with Prof. Dow's evolutionary rot." He further charged that for fifteen years Baylor had been guilty of teaching unsound doctrines. Norris charged Brooks with a coverup, and the minister assured his readers that he would continue to "smoke out the infidels." He also used the pulpit at both his church and revivals to preach against "the professor apes [who] think they have a monopoly (sic) on knowledge."[7]

The attacks had their desired effect. Brooks' correspondence swelled with letters from protesting parents with children at Baylor and from confused Baptists across the state. One parent wrote, he would "rather his son go without [a] college education rather than have him attend the classes of a man who teaches Darwinianism in the smallest degree." Dow resigned, and with a certain prescience he summed up the problem: "the south does not yet understand the term 'evolution'; when you say evolution people immediately think of monkey." "It will be 25 years," he continued, "before they thresh the thing out in this part of the country." Brooks, despite Norris' protests, refused to accept Dow's resignation until the end of the school year.[8]

Inevitably, in 1921 the controversy found its way to the Baptist state convention. Brooks, knowing that Norris was going to make an issue of Dow's textbook and Darwinism at Baylor, upstaged the Fort Worth minister and called for an investigation. The convention passed a resolution opposing the "teaching of Darwinian evolution, or any other teaching which discredits the Genesis account of creation." The committee appointed to investigate the teaching in Texas Baptist schools cleared Baylor. They found no instances of a teacher who believed in Darwinian evolution as a fact or taught it as such. The committee found two biology professors at Baylor who subscribed to some phases of evolution, Lula Pace and L.O. Bradbury. While they viewed the fall of man in the Genesis account as historical, they believed the first three chapters of Genesis were "illustrative or allegorical."[9]

Norris remained unsatisfied. The committee rejected his requests for open hearings and a chance to interview the professors personally. He claimed that he possessed evidence indicating that presidents of Baptist schools had prohibited students with damaging evidence to appear before the committee. Tension mounted as the date grew closer for the General Convention. Norris was not the only one dissatisfied with the report. Benjamin A. Copass, an Old Testament professor at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, received numerous letters of protest concerning Pace and Bradbury. Copass wrote Brooks about the dissatisfaction of some Baptists and told him that one former student would testify at the convention that Pace had taught evolution of the "rankest type." Even Scarborough, who faithfully supported Baylor throughout the controversy, wrote Brooks citing the case of his own brother, who learned the theory in Pace's class, "and was now a moralist and a rationalist."[10]

If Baptists expected a tumultuous convention in 1922, they were not disappointed. One minister counseled silence on the matter. He pointed out that once Baptist schools began to "capitulate" to men who were not specialists in the fields of science and interpreting the Bible, then these schools would "begin to lose out in the educational world, and their graduates will be looked upon as ninnies." The convention would not be silent on the matter. Described as one of the "most stormy sessions the Baptists had had in the last twenty-five years," the Convention adopted the Investigation Committee's report and passed another resolution supporting the Genesis account of the origin of man.[11]

The annual General Conventions of 1923-1927 took up the evolution question in one way or another. This largely was due to the agitation of Norris. Moreover, 1923 was an important year for the controversy in Austin as well. State representative J.T. Stroder, a Baptist concerned with the teaching of evolution at Baylor as well as the University of Texas, introduced a bill in the Texas House of Representatives to ban the teaching of evolution in state schools. He argued that such teaching violated the [illegible] of church and state and religious freedom as stated in the Texas

Constitution. The bill passed in the House, but died in the Education Committee in the Senate. Stroder believed that "German Rationalism" and "Atheistic Evolution" were synonymous. According to him, Germany had "planted in American Universities pernicious policies or doctrines which she desires to foist upon our unsuspecting minds." Among some twenty-six 'curses," he included "athiesm," "materialiam," "no God theory," and "Bolshevism." All of these could be found in German Rationalism. Convinced that the evolution controversy was a plot to subvert American youth and culture, he called for resignations at Baylor and the removal of "rationalists" who taught at the University of Texas.[12]

In 1923 the General Convention refused to seat Norris' delegates by a vote of 811 to thirty-one. With similar problems expected at the convention in 1924, one leading Baptist urged Baylor's Board of Trustees to issue a statement to prevent the possibility of "our coming to the Convention with a bad atmosphere growing out of misapprehensions." Brooks presented a statement signed by seventy-six members of the Baylor faculty acknowledging the fundamentals of their faith. Dale Crowley, a Baylor student already embroiled in the controversy, submitted a resolution calling for all instructors in Baptist schools to sign doctrinal statements. The resolution committee voted down the resolution, arguing "that such a statement should be prepared by a representative of a nonpartisan committee." The convention unanimously adopted a resolution passed by the Southern Baptist Convention that year opposing evolution and reiterating the fundamentals of the Baptist faith.[13]

By 1925 the controversy still would not die. Originally, Norris planned to travel to Dayton, Tennessee, to provide William Jennings Bryan with "religious counsel" at the Scopes Trial. An article in the *New York Times* alerted readers that Norris had studied the case carefully and would be well prepared. Although Norris was unable to attend the trial, Bryan wrote to thank him for getting involved in the case, announcing, "It woke up the country."[14]

The Southern Baptist Convention met in Memphis, Tennessee, that year. At the convention the Committee on Articles of Faith put forward a statement based on the Genesis account of creation. Brooks attended and voted his approval. At the General Convention in Mineral Wells, Texas, Josiah B. Tidwell, head of the Bible department at Baylor, delivered an address on "The Genesis Story of Creation." Brooks, as well as Norris, endorsed the speech, and Baylor printed copies because of the orthodoxy of the address and the tremendous demand for it. In Austin the anti-evolutionist faction in the House passed another bill prohibiting the teaching of evolution in state schools. Again the bill died in the Senate, but this time Governor Miriam A. Ferguson intervened. Using her position as head of the Textbook Commission, she guided through a proposal which eliminated all references to evolution from public school textbooks.[15]

In 1926, Brooks reported to the Convention that teachers had not

been added to the faculty unless they signed the articles of faith presented in 1924. At the Southern Baptist Convention held in Houston that year, a resolution reaffirmed Genesis and rejected any theory which taught that man originated from a lower "animal ancestory." Finally, in 1927 the Convention passed a resolution expressing its disapproval of the "baseless, malicious, and conscienceless warfare against our leaders in missions, in education, in hospitals, and in those in other lines of work."[16]

Norris was little dissuaded by these actions of the General Conventions, despite his tearful apology and promise to cease such attacks at the convention in 1923. As a strict literalist, he believed any degree of evolution would have threatened the integrity of the Bible. The notion of theistic evolution was out of the question in his mind. This accounts for his rejection of Pace and Bradbury's statements during the convention and investigation. As a result, he stepped up his charges against them and other members of Baylor's faculty. Nearly every issue of the *Searchlight,* scornfully called the "Smirchlight" by Brooks, carried articles on Baylor. In the Spring of 1923, the newspaper ran an article claiming that students had revolted against Brooks and demanded his resignation. Norris contended that this was the inevitable and logical consequence of the kind of teaching that had been going on at Baylor. The Baylor faculty issued a statement which labeled Norris' charges as a "gross misrepresentation," and pointed out student-faculty relations were quite cordial. Moreover, Brooks refused to consent to an invitation to William Jennings Bryan to speak at Baylor that year, fearing that Norris would take it as a personal victory and claim that he brought Bryan to Texas himself.[17]

The controversy intensified with the Crowley-Fothergill affair. Dale Crowley, a "young theologue with far more zeal than knowledge," attended a pastor's conference in Houston where he attacked Brooks for being a "heretic" and accused C.S. Fothergill, a member of the Baylor faculty, of teaching evolution. Apparently rebuffed by Brooks, Crowley took his story to Norris. The *Searchlight* exacerbated the affair, reporting on it almost weekly. The paper quoted a statement supposedly made to Crowley by Brooks in which the president stated that he believed that "man was created by process." Brooks, breaking an eleven-month silence on the controversy, responded by accusing Norris of offering rewards of $100 and $200 to students to act as spies. The faculty voted unanimously to sanction a statement written by Brooks and signed by Governor Pat Neff, the chairman of the Baylor's Board of Trustees. Meanwhile, on October 10, 1924 the *Searchlight* featured a page-one cartoon of Crowley plunging a dagger into the head of a huge snake labeled, "EVOLUTION IN BAYLOR." Crowley briefly edited *The Sword,* a news sheet, featuring an article titled "Fair Play or Foul Play?" in which he defended his position. The faculty met and passed a resolution suspending him indefinitely for charging Baylor with endorsing "the rankest form of infidelity."[18]

Norris charged Brooks with destroying the principle of free speech

among Texas Baptists. Crowley, unwilling to accept his suspension, requested a hearing before the Board of Trustees, but Brooks refused. Crowley took his case to a lawyer and released all the correspondence concerning his suspension to the *Houston Chronicle.* At his lawyer's request, Crowley received a hearing, but he was not readmitted to Baylor.[19]

The pressure on Fothergill resulted in his resignation. Much like Dow, he denied all the charges and pointed out that his life's work was much too important to continue in such a difficult situation. The *Searchlight* carried a headline in huge red letters across the front page: "PROFESSOR FOTHERGILL, ANOTHER EVOLUTIONIST AT BAYLOR, RESIGNS— Crowley vindicated."[20]

The controversy had an adverse effect on the denomination throughout the state. The "75 Million Campaign," a major fund raising effort to liquidate the Southern Baptist Conventions' debt, in particular was vulnerable because monies from the campaign helped support Baptist schools. Clearly, many Baptists were unwilling to give money to a school that they believed undermined the fundamentals of their faith.

Despite Brooks' best efforts to end the controversy, many Baptists remained unconvinced that evolution was not being taught at Baylor. The Parker County Baptist Association passed a resolution charging Baylor with teaching a theory of evolution which denied the inspiration of the scriptures and the biblical account of the creation of all things. Brooks denied the charges and reminded the Association of the report of the investigation committee the previous year. In December 1923, Brooks published a lengthy article in the *Baylor Bulletin* in which he tried once again to lay the controversy to rest. He concluded that no teachers at Baylor ever had been "fundamentally wrong" in their teaching. The Tarrant County Baptist Association rejected Brooks' statement because books containing evolutionary teaching had been discontinued as texts and teachers had resigned.[21]

A pattern in the evolution controversy at Baylor had developed by 1924. Norris would receive information from one of his supporters that a faculty member at Baylor had evolutionary leanings. He used the *Searchlight* or the *Fundamentalist* to attack the teacher. The accused professor would respond by denying the charge, to no avail. In this manner, Norris continued his attacks against Pace, Bradbury, and J.L. Kesler, the dean of the medical school. He also charged the W.P. Meroney, Dow's successor in the sociology department, taught "beast ancestory." Norris similarly accused at least four other Baylor faculty members. This pattern continued until the end of the decade.

As late as 1927, fundamentalists in other parts of the country were still following the controversy at Baylor. Brooks received a letter from William Bell Riley, one of the major spokesmen for the movement and one of the founders of the Anti-Evolution League of America. Riley

inquired as to whether Baylor was on the list of the Fundamentalist Colleges of America and if so, did it correctly belong there? In a similar vein, one of the national speakers of the League wrote to ask Brooks if he believed in evolution?[22]

An incident that same year, however, marked a turning point in the controversy. Until then, Brooks demonstated remarkable patience in dealing with Norris and other accusers. Norris had extended several speaking invitations to Brooks that Brooks ignored. Believing in "the good old Baptist and American way of meeting things frankly, openly and aboveboard," Norris asked Brooks again to come and deliver an address at Norris' radio station in Fort Worth. This time Brooks accepted. Brooks was joined on the broadcast by Frank S. Groner, a former attorney-turned-minister and the executive secretary of the General Baptist Convention. Both bitterly denounced Norris over his own radio station for his sustained attacks on Brooks and upon Baylor. Groner's broadside, "Norrisism and it's Fruits," was more caustic than Brooks. Groner called Norris' charges "cruel lies" and accused him of "slander, viturperation, inuendo, calumny, misrepresentations, falsehoods, and lies."[23]

For some reason Norris' rebuttal was cut off the radio in Fort Worth. One man suggested that Norris did it himself so he could accuse foes of the First Baptist Church with tampering with the radio. Norris called it a "hatefest." Meanwhile, Brooks received dozens of letters of support. Norris continued to attack Brooks and Baylor, but the radio broadcast vitiated much of his press's sensationalism.[24]

The evolution controversy at Baylor raised a number of important questions. It also had important ramifications for the religious history of Texas. What was the effect of the controversy on the denomination throughout the 1920s. Was evolution actually taught at Baylor? Was Norris an opportunist interested in bolstering his own image and the circulation of his newspapers? Or was he genuinely concerned with heresy at Baylor?

Dow's remarks when he resigned from Baylor underscored the misconception of evolution in the South in the 1920s. Many Baptists, both urban and rural, misunderstood the theory. For example, State Representative J.T. Stroder considered evolution his "forte," yet he believed that the theory of evolution held that man originally "sprang from a protoplasm, to a tadpole, to a polliwog, to a grog, to a monkey, to an ape, to a baboon, to a 'guerilla,' to a bear, to a Chinaman, to a jap, to a negro, to a whiteman." Stroder did not explain what a grog was, but felt sufficiently knowledgeable to appoint himself spokesman for a number of Baptists and to push for a bill against teaching evolution in Texas schools. Another Baptist, summing up the misconceptions about evolution theory in the countryside, wrote that "quite a number of the brethern coming from the rural districts altogether unacquainted with the thought forms of literature and philosophy have set themselves up as critics." He chastised such Baptists for presuming to criticize those things "about which they

had not the remotest understanding."[25]

Further misunderstanding linked evolution to German rationalism, atheism, and communism. Many Baptists, as well as members of other denominations, thought that the acceptance of evolution would undermine morality. They felt that if man believed he decended from apes he would justify the release of his animal instincts and wreak havoc on the social order. Finally, many believed that the acceptance of the theory would necessarily contradict the inspired revelation and inerrancy of the Scriptures — "If there was one portion of the Scriptures untrue, the whole of it went for nothing." Because of these conceptions, the ordinary Baptist equated all evolution with Darwinian evolution. Understandably, when Baylor was accused of harboring teachers of evolution on its faculty, many Baptists were alarmed.[26]

The controversy benefited the denomination by forcing the Baptists to address the issue. For several decades many biblical scholars failed to reconcile fundamentalism with advances made in higher criticism and science. The science faculty at Baylor, in attempting to effect such a reconcilation, made two major contributions. First, many Baptists developed an awareness that the theory of evolution took many forms and degrees. Theistic evolution became a possibility. One Baptist put the question very well when he asked, "What is there in theistic evolution, as expounded by many of the ablest scientists and theologians, that is inconsistent with reverent and genuine religion as revealed and taught by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount."[27]

Clearly, this philosophical assumption stood a far greater chance of receiving a hearing in biblical scholarship because the credibility of the Bible could be upheld. Secondly, largely through the efforts of Brooks, the principle of academic freedom in the denominational schools was upheld. It is significant that Baylor's president never asked for any faculty member's resignation because of the controversy. Rather, he maintained the freedom of his faculty to acquaint the students with all forms of knowledge. Somewhat sarcastically, he wrote one critic to explain that a sociology professor would teach the students about various policies pursued in Europe and America regarding prostitution and other forms of social vice. This did not mean, however, that the professor actually endorsed such vice. Through such actions Brooks insured Baylor's credibility as an educational institution in the academic community.[28]

Was evolution, in fact, taught at Baylor? One must distinguish between the professors' personal beliefs and what they taught as personal opinion and what they taught in an effort to acquaint the students with all theories in sociology and biology. The evidence does not suggest any professor subscribed to an atheistic theory of evolution. Brooks knew when he hired Kesler as dean of the medical school that he was an evolutionist. But Kesler was highly competent and acknowledged his belief in the Bible. This was fifteen years before the controversy began, and it attested to

Brooks' openmindedness. Professors Dow, Pace, Bradbury, Fothergill, and Meroney, all scientists as well as Baptists, believed in some form of evolution. However, all signed or issued statements attesting to the historical facts of "Genesis" and the belief that God created all things. This insight, one apparently closed to the more militant fundamentalist, was that God could have used the evolutionary process to create man. Indeed, Brooks seemed to have leaned towards this belief himself, and he clearly hired teachers who did. Addressing the Baptist Youth Union, he stated that God had placed man on earth in a state of savagery to work out his own salvation. This was certainly at variance with a strict literalist interpretation of Genesis.[29]

The ominous connotations of the use of the term "evolution" resulted in a careful choice of words. Brooks took pains to point out that no professor endorsed the theory of *Darwinian evolution.* B.A. Copass, defending Pace and Bradbury, pointed out, they "are not evolutionist as evolution is defined, they simply believe in the law of development within the species." In the future, he chided teachers, "Be careful of your terminology ... Do not say 'evolutionist,' say 'development.' "[30]

A textbook problem made the teaching of evolution at Baylor unavoidable. There were no adequate biology and sociology textbooks published in the 1920s that did not contain some evolutionary theory. Books omitting the theory of evolution fell below acceptable standards for college texts. Professors could hardly ignore the evolutionary chapters in the texts, although one academician suggested these chapters "are the best opportunity to show how weak the arguments for the doctrine are." In 1924, the General Convention established a textbook commission to insure the orthodoxy of texts used in Baptist schools. Herbert Gambrell, a Methodist and the managing editor of the *Southwest Review,* who attended the convention, offered a facitious suggestion that the Convention hire someone to write textbooks. After a manuscript was finished, run off 500,000 copies and send one to every Baptist in the state. Each person would delete the objectionable portions, incorporate their own suggestions, and return the revised manuscript. When all 500,000 copies were returned the author could incorporate all suggestions, and delete all the unacceptable passages. As he pointed out, the plan was perfectly democratic. "The resultant text-book would be a marvel of unity, coherence and emphasis, to say nothing of accuracy; and, once in its final form would need no revision until the present generation has passed away." The proposal, while intentionally ludricrious, underscored the problem of adequate textbooks and academic freedom.[31]

Finally, there remains the question of J. Frank Norris. Was he convinced evolution was being taught at Baylor? Egotistical, an iconoclast, Norris probably used Baylor to focus attention on himself and boost circulation of his weeklies. By no means modest, he frequently boasted that he preached in the largest church and edited the religious paper with the

largest circulation in the country. Norris characterized himself as a minister doing the Lord's work in the face of adversity, and he remained popular with many Baptists. According to his friends, only Billy Sunday could attract more people to a religious meeting. The *Searchlight* and the *Fundamentalist* undoubtedly benefited from the controversy. Announcing, "THE BATTLE IS THE LORD'S," his paper's advertisement for new subscriptions urged readers to invest in the *Searchlight* to help fight the enemy — evolution at Baylor.

Many of Norris' comtemporaries questioned his motivation. George W. Carrol, one of the pillars of Baylor, wrote Norris, "it is not evolution so much that is worrying you, but your eagerness to be the hero that killed the snake." This summed up the sentiments of many regarding Norris in the 1920s.[32]

Norris, a militant fundamentalist, viewed everything in terms of black and white. Richard Hofstadter has written that the fundamentalist mind "is esstentially Manichean; it looks upon the world as an arena for conflict between absolute good and absolute evil, and accordingly it scorns compromises ... and can tolerate no amibiguities." Certainly, Norris bears out this description. He refused to compromise or question his own opinions and beliefs. Unable to detect shades of meaning, he would not accept any theory of evolution. All evolution was atheistic. This explains why he charged professors with teaching Darwinian evolution. In Norris' mind, there was only one form of evolution. That Norris genuinely was concerned with the teaching of evolution revealed itself early in the controversy. "No use to fool ourselves. The damnable doctrine of evolution has its hand on the throat of our public schools, our state schools, and our denominational schools." Norris' concern transcended Baylor, although he focused much of his attention there. Like many of his day, he viewed evolution as a theory spawned by athesitic philosophy and imported to this country from Europe. He believed evolution was a real threat to Baylor and the Baptist denomination. The liberal spirit in protestantism during the 1920s disturbed him. Soon "there will just be Roman Catholics, Fundamentalists, and Modernists," he told a meeting of the Baptist Bible Union of America. Clearly, Norris approached the controversy with mixed motivations.[33]

The evolution controversy at Baylor left its stamp on the denomination's future. In 1929, one Baptist wrote:

> Baptists have come to the forks in the road. We must either take the route of the ignorant and illiterate ... or we must be able to interpret our belief in such terms and with such argument as will challenge the intelligence and interest of the world in which we live.

Science could be reconciled with the sacred.[34]

NOTES

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[2]Grove S. Dow, *Introduction to the Principles of Sociology* (Waco, 1920), pp. 210-211; Dow, *Introduction,* p. 42.

[3]Marsden, *Fundamentalism in American Culture,* p. 161; M.H. Keith to L.R. Scarborough, March 24, 1921, in the Samuel Palmer Brooks Papers, The Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, Texas (hereinafter cited as Brooks Papers); L.R. Scarborough to Brooks, July 11, 1921, Brooks Papers.

[4]Waco *Times Herald,* October 8, 1924.

[5]*Lariat,* December 7, 1920; Brooks to M.H. Wolf, December 19, 1921, Brooks Papers.

[6]C. Allyn Russel, "J. Frank Norris, Violent Fundamentalist," *Voices of American Fundamentalism* (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 23; *Searchlight,* January 20, 1922.

[7]*Searchlight,* October 1921; *Searchlight,* November 11, 1921; *Searchlight,* November 18, 1921, Stenographers report of Norris' sermon of December 11, 1921 in L.R. Scarborough to Brooks, December 12, 1921, Brooks Papers.

[8]D.W. Price to Brooks, November 19, 1921, Brooks Papers; *Lariat,* December 10, 1921; Dallas *Dispatch,* December 14, 1921; J. Frank Norris to Brooks, December 19, 1921, Brooks Papers.

[9]*Baptist Annual,* 1921, p. 35; "Report to Committee Appointed to Investigate the Teaching of Evolution in Baptist Schools of Texas," in the *Baptist Standard,* September 14, 1922; Samuel Palmer Brooks, "Concerning Evolution in Baylor University," in the *Baylor Bulletin,* XXVI (1923), p. 5.

[10]B.A. Copass to Brooks, October 30, 1922, Brooks Papers; L.R. Scarborough to Brooks, October 30, 1922, Brooks Papers.

[11]G.S. Kennard to Brooks, November 10, 1922, Brooks Papers; Dallas *Morning News,* November 19, 1922; *Baptist Annual,* 1922, p. 13.

[12]*Texas House Journal,* 38th Legislature, 1923, pp. 73-74. J.T. Stroder to Brooks, March 3, 1923, Brooks Papers.

[13]*Baptist Annual,* 1923, pp. 42-43; Jeff D. Ray to Brooks, November 1, 1924, Brooks Papers; Austin *Statesman,* November 22, 1924.

[14]New York *Times,* July 5, 1925; *Times,* August 2, 1925.

[15]*Baptist Annual,* 1927, p. 25; Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy,* p. 87.

[16]*Baptist Annual,* 1927, p. 25; *Baptist Annual,* 1927, p. 28.

[17]*Searchlight,* April 27, 1923; Waco *News-Tribune,* April 28, 1923; Brooks to W.J. Gray, May 10, 1923, Brooks Papers.

[18]E.O. West to Brooks, March 27, 1923, Brooks Papers; *Searchlight,* September, 26, 1924; Austin *Statesman,* October 8, 1924; *Lariat,* October 8, 1924; *Searchlight,* October 10, 1924; *The Sword,* October 11, 1924, Brooks Papers.

[19]Sterling Myer to Brooks, November 14, 1924, Brooks Papers; Houston *Chronicle,* November 2, 1924; *Lariat,* March 26, 1925.

[20]Open letter by C.S. Fothergill, November 5, 1924, Brooks Papers; *Searchlight,* November 7, 1924.

[21]*Baptist Standard,* September 13, 1923; *Baptist Standard,* September 20, 1923; Brooks, *Baylor Bulletin,* 1923, p. 10; Waco *Times-Herald,* October 8, 1924.

[22]William B. Riley to Brooks, September 21, 1927, Brooks Papers; R.B. Key to Brooks, October 19, 1927, Brooks Papers.

[23]KFQB, "Norrisism and its Fruits," November 24, 1927, F.S. Groner, Brooks Papers.

[24]O.E. Carr to Brooks, November 22, 1927, Brooks Papers; Frank Norris to F.S. Groner, December 15, 1927, Brooks Papers.

[25]Waco *Times-Herald*, December 22, 1923; G.J. Rousseau to C.P. Stealey, Brooks Papers.

[26]Dwight Moody in Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism in American Life*, p. 122.

[27]V.B. Harris to Brooks, September 28, 1926, Brooks Papers.

[28]Brooks to J.R. Robbins, September 20, 1929, Brooks Papers.

[29]San Antonio *Express*, November 25, 1927.

[30]Brooks to John G. Harrison, December 31, 1923, Brooks Papers; *Baptist Standard*, November 2, 1922.

[31]T.H. Taylor to Brooks, October 15, 1924, Brooks Papers; Herbert P. Gambrell to Brooks, November 22, 1924, Brooks Papers.

[32]New York *Times*, March 27, 1922; *Times*, July 5, 1925; *Searchlight*, November 7, 1924; George W. Carrol to J. Frank Norris, November 7, 1924, Brooks Papers; Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism in American Life*, p. 135.

[33]*Searchlight*, December 23, 1921; New York *Times*, May 28, 1926.

[34]W.O. Anderson to Brooks, January 31, 1929, Brooks Papers.

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF RAILROADS ON DENTON COUNTY, TEXAS

by E. Dale Odom

When Robert Fogel did his controversial study of the effects of railroads on general economic growth in the United States, he attacked the idea of the economic indispensability of the railroad. He concluded, however, that until 1890 railroads had been responsible for the equivalent of two years of growth in the gross national product. In other words, the United States would have been about where it was in 1888 if there had been no railroads and if certain expected transportation improvements had been made. Whether that is a small or a large amount of growth is open to interpretation. Fogel's work, although it has been questioned in detail, has had the effect of making general historians more careful in their assertions about the transforming effects of railroads.[1]

It may be that some other form of transportation would have elicited similar economic changes, but it is indisputable that railroads had a quick and powerful impact on patterns of agricultural and industrial production, urban growth, and the way people lived. To illustrate this impact, this paper will examine some economic effects of railroads on Denton County, Texas, mainly between the years, 1880 and 1920.

There is nothing unique about Denton County. It is a thirty-square mile county adjoining Dallas and Tarrant counties on the north, and only one county separates it from the Oklahoma border. Roughly the western half of Denton County lies in the geographical region known as the Grand Prairie of Texas, while a small portion on the east is part of the Blackland Prairie. The narrow Eastern Cross Timbers extend through the center and eastern side of the county. With good soil and annual average rainfall over thirty inches, the county has been a good general farming area for small grain, cotton, and livestock.

Anglo settlement began in the early 1840s as the result of a land grant to the W.S. Peters Company of Louisville, Kentucky. The county was created out of a part of Fannin County in 1846. It grew slowly at first because early settlers lacked water transportation, a requirement for extensive commercial agriculture. Thus, as in so much of the area west of the Mississippi River, farmers essentially were limited to subsistence production, and supplemented their income by sale of livestock that could transport itself to distant markets. The famous cattleman, John S. Chisum, a county rancher during the 1850s, drove cattle eastward as far as Vicksburg during the Civil War when he was an official cattle supplier for the Confederacy. Costs for goods not locally produced were high. For example, even in 1868, pine lumber bought in Jefferson, or at East Texas sawmills for $.75 a thousand board feet, sold for $7.00 a thousand in

Denton County. Much changed when railroads connected the county with the outside world. It was a general rule that in the 1870s and 1880s transportation costs were reduced to about one-tenth of what they had been after a railroad entered an area such as Denton County that did not have water transportation.[2]

Although there was much optimistic discussion, and even some surveying, before the Civil War, it was not until the 1870s that railroads began to have a significant economic impact on the people of Denton. By 1873 rails had reached Sherman, sixty miles, McKinney, thirty miles, and Dallas, forty miles, away. Afterwards rail transport affected freight costs into and out of the county. Furthermore, a railroad had entered Denton County by 1877. The Dallas and Wichita Railroad Company built a line that ended just southeast of Lewisville. Financial problems so plagued the company that the outlaw Sam Bass never robbed it because as he allegedly told his men, that if they did it would have to be on credit and that did not work very well in their line of business.

During a long pause in construction a thriving but temporary community grew up at the end of the Dallas and Wichita tracks in the low-lying wooded area southeast of Lewisville. Local residents called it "Stumpopolis" and in the Summer and Fall of 1877 dozens of wagons were often seen lined up there to ship wheat and cotton on the railroad.[3]

Denton's railroad era reached a new stage in 1881 when the city of Denton, in a way, got two railroads. The Texas and Pacific completed a line from Texarkana through Sherman and Denton to Fort Worth — the first train reached the city on April 1. The Missouri, Kansas, and Texas, better known as the Katy Railroad, acquired the Dallas and Wichita, which had been completed to Denton, and since Jay Gould owned interests in both the Texas and Pacific and the Katy, it was easy to make an agreement for the Katy to use the Texas and Pacific tracks from Denton to Sherman. Denton then had connections with both Dallas and Fort Worth, but only one track, used by both railroad corporations, ran northeastward to Sherman. Five years later, in 1886, the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe, connecting Fort Worth to Oklahoma City, built across the western part of the county, missing the city of Denton. From Justin on the south to Sanger on the north, this line ran across the prairie and created the wheat belt of Denton County. In spite of much discussion and booster enthusiasm, only two other short stretches of track were ever built in Denton County; both were built after 1900 and neither had a large impact.[4]

As is usually the case, several conceptual problems had to be dealt with in fashioning this paper, and perhaps some of them need to be made explicit. It would hardly be productive to examine only the immediate economic effect of railways, yet taking a longer term view runs a definite risk of attributing economic changes to the roads that may have been brought about by something else. Furthermore, Denton County is a limited area which cannot be separated from surrounding counties and is a political

rather than an economic entity. For example, it is conceivable that railroads might never have entered Denton County, but if they ran through an adjoining one then there would still have been an economic impact. It would be convenient if there was a comparable county which did not acquire railroads until thirty, or perhaps fifty, years later. Its economic development could be compared to that of Denton to better determine the economic effects of railway transportation on Denton. Pitfalls exist, therefore, that make such efforts as this a possible victim of several historical fallacies. Nevertheless, historians usually do not throw up their hands and quit because of difficulties. Consequently, this paper will concentrate on some of the effects of railroads on population and urban growth and on agricultural and industrial production in Denton County, mainly in the period from 1880 to 1920.

When railroads entered the county it was decidedly rural but was growing rapidly in population and agricultural production. In fact, the greatest decade of population growth in the history of Denton County for over a century, both in numbers and percentages, occurred in the decade before railways came. Between 1870 and 1880, population of the county more than doubled from 7,251 to 18,143. The town of Denton, the largest in the county, increased its residents from 361 to 1194 in the same ten years.[5] This growth in the 1870s primarily was due to good farming opportunities, and may have been due partly to anticipation of the arrival of railroads.

It is certainly true that money could be made in farming in the early 1870s. Due to the low cost of land and production, it was possible for a family to pay for a farm in one to three years. *The Texas Almanac* (1872) cites one of many examples that could be given of the profitability of farming in Denton County in 1869. In January of that year a man named Brumby bought 210 acres of land for $1500. His farm had forty-five acres in cultivation. He and his two sons farmed it, although they hired labor that cost $140. On January 1, 1870, after reserving a year's supplies, the value of products sold totaled $2,017.50. Most of the income, $1600, was from the sale of cotton. These figures do not include any increase in the value of Brumby's livestock, which may have amounted to as much as $500.[6] Other farmers may not have done as well as Brumby, but farming in Denton County was quite profitable, and appears to be the main reason why so many immigrants came to the county in the 1870s.

At the time railroads first began to affect the county, industry was made up of a few small firms that completed the economic independence of local residents. Industry was light and mobile with a comparatively small investment and modest profits. The census of 1870 reveals an average investment per establishment of $2,200, with three and one-half workers, an average annual output of $4,800, and a labor and material cost of $3360. With fixed and variable costs subtracted, there remained an average annual profit of approximately $1,200. When this average is compared to

the farm profits noted above it is easy to see why agriculture was growing more rapidly than industry in Texas in the 1870s. In Denton County, between 1870 and 1880, total manufacturing production increased in value from $34,100 to $104,344, which was produced by twenty-two firms with a total of sixty-four employees, in the latter year.[7] Denton County's manufacturing statistics closely resemble the state average.

In the decade after railroads came to Denton, from 1880 to 1890, population growth of the county slowed, totaling only 3,146, compared to almost 11,000 the decade before. More than half of the increase, unlike the previous decade, went to the towns rather than the farms. The City of Denton gained 1,364, almost half the increase for the decade. The pace of population growth expanded again in the 1890s with an increase of 7,070 persons, more than twice as many people as were added in the previous ten years. Like the growth in the 1870s, this growth was again mostly rural and was due largely to the Santa Fe's opening of the prairie to wheat and cotton farmers after 1887. After 1900, however, with both Cross Timbers and prairies filled with farmers, and towns growing slowly, the population growth slowed markedly. The county had 28,319 people in 1900, and only 33,658 in 1940, an increase of 5,339 in four decades, or about half as much increase as in the decade of the 1870s alone. Growth increased in tempo again after World War II, with Denton County's population increasing to 47,432 in 1960. Explosive growth followed; the county's population roughly tripled in the next twenty years, reaching 143,106 in 1980.[8]

By the middle of the twentieth century the rural population of the county was smaller than when railroads first appeared on the scene. In 1880, about 16,000, and in 1950 slightly over 13,000 people, lived outside the city limits of incorporated towns in Denton County.[9] Railroads were not responsible for this change — the general rural to urban shift was — but it is clear that railroads determined the pattern of town growth that existed for a century. For example, at the beginning of the 1970s, with the exception of Little Elm, there was not one town in the county of any size that was not on one of the railroads completed in the 1880s. Pilot Point, Aubrey, Denton, Argyle, and Roanoke on the Texas and Pacific, Lewisville and Lake Dallas on the Katy, and Justin, Ponder, Krum, and Sanger on the Santa Fe, were the only communities of any size in 1970. Also, railroad placement decreed that some towns and communities in Denton County, such as Bolivar, Elizabethtown, Stoney, and Green Valley, would either never develop beyond village size or would decline and virtually disappear because the railroad missed them.

Denton County manufacturing growth generally kept pace with population and urban increase after 1880. Thirty-eight firms produced products valued at $397,037 in 1890, and in 1900, 129 firms turned over $934,638 in production. Grain mills accounted for most of the establishments and most of the product. After 1900, as might be expected,

the number of manufacturing firms declined rapidly — from 129 in 1900 to forty-two in 1920 — but value of their output continued upward to over $3,000,000 in the latter year.[10]

While it would be incorrect to say that railroads had a negative effect on urban and industrial growth in Denton County, it has been suggested that the lack of railways prevented Denton from competing with Dallas and FortWorth. This was not because of roads that were built but because of trails that were not laid. Denton acquired a railroad outlet in 1881 but never a railroad network. In other words, Denton "became a railroad town but not a railroad center."[11] From Farmersville on the east to Bridgeport on the west, about forty miles on either side of Denton, seven railroads eventually ran north and south, but Denton had no east-west connections. Denton was almost eighty miles by rail from McKinney, thirty miles away, almost seventy miles by rail to Decatur, also thirty miles away, and seventy miles by rail to Krum, which was eight miles from Denton. Obviously, until rubber-tired transportation began to alter the picture, wholesale houses and industrial firms that planned to do much shipping preferred to locate to the south in Fort Worth or Dallas or to the north in Gainesville or Sherman. Those cities had east-west as well as north-south rail connections.

While no one can say with certainty how much difference it might have made had Denton obtained connections to the east and west, the fact that they did not have them undoubtedly hampered city boosters in attracting wholesale houses to the town. Lack of east-west connections may not have hurt manufacturing growth very much. Only if Denton, instead of Dallas, had been the first major objective of the Texas and Pacific Railroad when it arrived from Marshall in the early 1870s, and if a three-year pause in construction after 1873 had been in Denton, as it was in the city to the south, would a railroad network have encouraged the growth of Denton as a large manufacturing and population center. A list of speculations about what might have been the case had Denton received the railway impetus that Dallas received can be constructed. For example, it might be the Denton Cowboys football team playing in Krum rather than the Dallas Cowboys playing in Irving; it might be the Denton-Decatur International Airport on the North Texas prairies, and Denton might be the hub of interstate highways 35, 45, 30 and 20. To be a bit more serious, the lack of economic opportunity in wholesale and industrial business may have been important in motivating Denton's leaders to acquire state-supported higher education institutions such as Texas Woman's University and the University of North Texas. If so, lack of a railway system had a strong impact because these institutions clearly affected Denton and Denton County in a fundamental way.

The actual effect of railroads on industrial development was minimal, but railway impact on agriculture was rapid and dramatic. Generally, the

reduce the production of subsistence crops such as corn and vegetables, and cut the number of cattle and hogs in the county. Cotton production was affected less dramatically than wheat because cotton had been better able to stand the cost of wagon transportation prior to the availability of rail transport. A wagon load of four to six bales of cotton, worth from $200 to $350, could stand transporting a considerable distance; in fact, during the 1860s county farmers hauled cotton all the way to Galveston. In contrast, a wagon load of wheat worth $50 to $60 could not be transported more than a few miles before the cost exceeded the value of the cargo. Railways did boost cotton production as well as wheat. Denton County cotton acreage increased steadily from 29,785 acres in 1880 to 41,190 in 1890, and 62,717 in 1900. Cotton peaked in acreage at 115,078 in 1920, then declined rapidly in the following years. Railroad transportation was crucial in causing the large increase before 1920.[12]

The construction of the Gulf, Colorado, and Sante Fe Railroad in 1886 clearly created the wheat belt of Denton County. The rich black prairie soil yielded a bounty of golden grain for the iron horse to carry away. In 1880, cattlemen dominated the prairie with 49,008 beef cows counted in the county and 58,855 cattle of all kinds. In the same year only 12,103 acres of county land was devoted to wheat. By 1920, only 12,123 beef cattle grazed in the county, while in only twenty years wheat acreage had increased by over 80,000 acres. As early as 1900, 92,800 acres were in wheat, and acreage peaked in 1920 at 97,192. From 1890 to 1920, Denton County ranked either first or second behind Collin County as the leading wheat producing county in Texas.[13] By 1900 Krum was reputed to be the largest inland wagon wheat market in the United States. It had several "track" buyers for large mills and elevators, three large grain storage houses, and four grain elevator companies by 1905, and Krum was a village of about 300 people. By 1920 farmers grew wheat and cotton right up to the bar ditches flanking the mud lanes that criss-crossed the prairies of western Denton County. Almost ninety percent of county land was in cultivation; in 1880 only 49.1 percent was cultivated.[14]

While the money value of Denton County farm production quadrupled from 1880 to 1910, production of subsistence crops began to decline proportionately and then absolutely, a reflection of the dramatic cheapening of the market cost of purchased necessities due to reduced railroad transportation rates. For example, corn acreage moved up from 35,326 in 1880 to 64,423 in 1900, but quickly dropped to 36,035 in 1920. Hogs, butter, and some other subsistence products followed closely the same proportionate pattern of increase and then decline.[15]

Railroads were not indispensable to economic growth in Denton County. They did, however, play a crucial role in shaping the pattern of urban and agricultural growth for over half a century. If there had been no railroad technology in the nineteenth century, then a Trinity River canal would likely have been built. The Elm Fork of the Trinity cuts through

the Cross Timbers of Denton County and during the late 1860s there was discussion of making the river navigable as far north as Gainesville.[16] With water transportation available, cotton and wheat production would have flourished as they did, but of course the pattern of town growth would have been very different. There was nothing particularly novel or unusual about the railroad impact on Denton County, but it does clearly indicate the powerful influence railroads had in shaping economic development and influencing how people lived, even if iron rails and locomotives were not an absolute prerequisite for growth.

NOTES

[1]Robert W. Fogel, *Railroads and American Economic Growth, Essays in Econometric History* (Baltimore, 1964), pp. 10-12.

[2]Harwood Hinton, "John Simpson Chisum," *New Mexico Historical Review* 31 (July 1956), p. 186; unpublished memoirs of Dr. W.S. Kirkpatrick, in the Archives, University of North Texas Library; Ray Ginger, *Age of Excess,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1975), p. 22. Chisum never drove cattle northward from Denton County and his name has nothing to do with the famous Chisholm Trail across Oklahoma to the Kansas railheads.

[3]C.A. Bridges, *History of Denton, Texas* (Waco, 1978), pp. 133, 148-149, 169-170; Wayne Gard, *Sam Bass* (Boston, 1936), p. 190; *New Orleans Daily Picayune,* August 19, 1877.

[4]Bridges, *History of Denton,* pp. 170-171.

[5]*Compendium of the Tenth Census of the United States,* 1880, Part 1, p. 52.

[6]S.S. McKay, "Economic Conditions in Texas in the 1870's," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book* 15 (1939), pp. 92-93, citing *The Texas Almanac, 1872,* pp. 32, 77.

[7]John S. Spratt, *The Road to Spindletop* (Dallas, 1955), pp. 249-250; *Tenth Census of the United States,* 1880, *Manufactures,* II, p. 177.

[8]*Compendium of the Tenth Census of the United States,* 1880, Part 1, p. 52; *Twelfth Census of the United States,* 1900, Population, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 41; *Denton Record Chronicle,* October 29, 1981.

[9]Bridges, *History of Denton,* p. 250.

[10]*Fourteenth Census of the United States,* 1920, IX, p. 1449.

[11]Bridges, *History of Denton,* p. 172.

[12]Spratt, *The Road to Spindletop,* p. 63; Kirkpatrick Memoirs; *Fourteenth Census of the United States,* 1920, Vol. VI, Part 2, pp. 720-721.

[13]*Fourteenth Census of the United States,* 1920, Vol. VI, Part 2, p. 693, pp. 720-721; Mary Jo Cowling, *Geography of Denton County* (Dallas, 1936), pp. 25-26.

[14]Della I. Davis, *Krum, Texas* (Krum, 1976), p. 29; *Fourteenth Census of the United States,* 1920, Vol. VI, Part 2, p. 669; *Tenth Census of the United States,* 1880, III, p. 135.

[15]*Thirteenth Census of the United States,* 1910, VII, pp. 682-683; *Tenth Census of the United States,* 1880, III, p. 135; *Fourteenth Census of the United States,* 1920, Vol. VI, Part 2, pp. 720-721.

[16]*Denton, Monitor,* October 8, 1868.

FOUR WHO COUNTED

by Laurence C. Walker

Lighthouse beacons and the lesser lights of buoys are indistinguishable among the people who have added immeasurably to the utilization of Texas wood for the needs of mankind. Without endeavoring to classify as either a lighthouse beacon or the lower light of a buoy, the contributions of the four men whose stories follow were significant in the development of the industry upon which they and many others would in time depend.

The material is excerpted from oral interviews conducted in 1979 and 1980. I asked the questions. Peter A. Racki, Robert A. Wood, Simon W. Henderson, Jr., and Carter A. Caton cheerfully answered the questions in order to preserve for posterity the knowledge and opinions remembered by these folks about early-day forestry in Texas. The interviewer was interested particularly in the economic and cultural history of East Texas.

The unabridged tapes and unedited typescripts of these tapes are permanently filed in the Forest History Archives in the Steen Library at Stephen F. Austin State University.

Robert A. Wood

Eldest of the four is Robert A. Wood. Wood was born on November 1, 1886, in the Texas Panhandle town of Nalden, no longer on the maps. After high school and a year at an academy, he enrolled in civil engineering at the University of Texas.

Wood tells of the young lady in his surveying field class who, when she approached the compass, caused its needle to dance a jig. This continued until the instructor called the lass aside to suggest she "no longer wear steel stays in her corset."

"After two years (at the University), I was offered a position on railroad construction for Kirby ... to operate a power driver in building wooden trestles across the streams" where the company was preparing to harvest the virgin pines and hardwoods. These trees typically exceeded five feet in diameter. Since John Henry Kirby was anticipating non-company commercial use of his rails in 1907 and 1908, Wood was soon "setting stakes for the track and pegs for the location of the bridges and it was my duty to see that the steam-powered pile-driver operator drove down the pylon until it was in a good solid, firm base." The pylons were then cut to a level mark and capped. Wages for the job were $60 per month, plus room (often a tent), and board.

The Burr's Ferry, Browndel (or Browndell), and Chester Railway was one of these shortlines. R.R. Griswold, a railroad buff of Colorado, has

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documented the Railroad's history from records in the Tyler and Jasper county courthouses, the Texas Railroad Commission, and the written narrative of James A. Black of Evadale, a resident of Browndel at the time of the line's construction. He noted that the BF, B, & C RW operated for approximately twelve miles east of Rockland.

Five different woods were used in the trestles, each from trees harvested in the area. Certain species were selected to withstand the strain of "sharpening," tension, and stress. The longleaf pine used on the bridges had to be "hill-top-grown."

Shay locomotives and log carts, the latter drawn by teams of eight oxen, pulled the untreated longleaf pine heartwood timbers to the logging tram bridge-trestle sites. Mule skidders worked their teams, giving the beasts such names as Bacon and Beans, because they would run for the camp for their rations at quitting time. A good skinner could emblazon his initials on the rump of a mule with his whip, or so it was said.

The BF, B, & C was laid out to go by Kirby's birthplace, somewhere between Chester and Randall, off the Santa Fe line. Nevertheless, construction ceased when the financier's allocation of funds was exceeded. Nor did the line, according to Wood, reach either Burr's Ferry or Browndel. However, Reed, in the *History of Texas Railroads*, notes that the T & NO bought out Kirby interests in 1914, and operated the train until the timber in the area was cut out in 1927.

Wood returned to the University of Texas to graduate in 1910, using his experience with Kirby as his senior-year thesis. After graduating, he worked as a bridge builder for the Santa Fe Railroad. Upon retirement from the Railroad, he returned to land surveying, often working for the wood-using industry.

Wood remembered surveyor's notes that read like this: "Thence east 245 varas to stake in a hurricane." This kind of a hurricane was a chunk of clay torn out by the ground by the roots of a tree blown over by the wind. He also recalled "tree stumps of heart longleaf pine that served for decades as witness trees following the initial survey."

About the construction camps, where the laborers and engineers lived in tents, Wood commented, "The chief engineer and his assistant came out once or twice a week. They both had good appetites; so the cooking tent, providing good food, was nearby." When shown a photo from his collection, Wood noted that the inspectors wore business suits, complete with coats and ties, because "they didn't get out and do any extra work." Horse-drawn wagons brought supplies to the camp. Bunkhouses, a commissary, and a company office provided comforts for the work crews in towns such as Browndel. The town jail there was built of 2x10-inch sawn timbers, with spikes in the walls to make escape difficult.

Carter Caton

Next in age among those interviewed is Carter Caton, named for and by the patriarch of the W.T. Carter & Brother Lumber Co.

Many were the tales of the eighty-four-year-old citizen of Deep East Texas who vividly recalled his days with the Carter Company and the enterprise's predecessors. Like his engines, no longer "running pert," Caton has been switched to a siding, narrating this story from a rest home. Age has slowed neither his recall nor his interest in people. Included among the latter are a sixteen-year old history correspondent — whose contributions are here acknowledged, and a "girl friend" who, because of her continued involvement in courthouse politics, will remain unnamed.

Sometime prior to 1882, when W.T. Carter would have been twenty-six years of age, he entered the sawmill business. Perhaps it was the normal thing for the time and place, for his father, Joseph Carter, had been a lumberman from "an early age." Carter's brother, Ernest, too, affiliated with him, thus giving rise to the company name. The business association began in 1882.

Joseph Carter's mill apparently fell on hard times in 1876, due, according to Caton, to inability to make payments on machinery. Creditors foreclosed. Auctioned to Colonel Sam T. Robb by order of the District Court of Walker County, the prominent Confederate soldier-lawyer soon conveyed the property to W.T. Carter, then only eighteen years old. So the historic enterprise began.

Caton was born on October 23, 1892, in Memphis, Texas. He moved to Camden, Texas, via the wood-burning locomotive of a narrow-gauge rail. Carter Caton followed his father in the employ of the Carter mill, remembering the changeover from narrow- to standard-gauge tracks for the Moscow, Camden, and San Augustine Railroad that never reached the latter town. At seven miles long, it remains the state's shortest line. Over the years, Caton was a locomotive engineer, steel-gang foreman, and timekeeper for the railroad. The engineer received a raise of $.50 a day the first day on the job. Apparently Mr. Carter liked his employee's name.

Caton liked to tell about the time he took "Mister" Carter and his daughter on a Sunday ride in the company train. The boss' coach did not make the whole trip; it fell into the stream below the trestle as it crossed McManna's Creek. When Carter scolded Caton for running wide open, Caton said he told Carter to "put rubber tires on your train." Caton's locomotive burned four-foot wood, mostly green oak. "Comin' home I sometimes had to stop the engine and gather pine knots to keep up enough steam to get back to Camden."

I met up with Caton at a retirement home in Diboll. For about thirty-five years before that he lived at the famous old Camden Boarding House, nearby the Company sawmill and rail track. The Boarding House, originally a physician's residence, was built in 1912. One could still get

a big lunch there for $1 in the early 1960s. U.S. Plywood tore down the "hotel" after purchasing the Carter mill and, with it, Camden.

Elaine Jackson reported stories about Caton in the Diboll *Free Press* in 1980. One account will suffice: "the time a man got drunk in one of the (Camden) saloons and shot another man below the eye. 'He pulled a silk handkerchief through the wound and never saw a doctor.'"

Carter Caton was a whittler. I prize a whistle he carved from a bamboo stem, each end of the whistle when blown imitating a particular locomotive's scream.

On Christmas day, perhaps 1910, cutting was going on "way out in the timber," and the mules at the site of the logging operation needed water and feed. To provide for their nourishment, the logging superintendent and Carter Caton fired up the locomotive and made the run. Having cared for the beasts of burden, the return trip was begun, only to be impeded by a large stump which somehow now was not cleared by the engine. The track earlier had rested on the edge of a swollen butt of the stump. Now, the track had settled suddenly, exposing all of the stump between the rails. "Running pretty pert," Caton recalls, the engine of the homeward bound locomotive "hit the stump, rocked about, jumped the rails, and headed for the woods on solid ground. A hundred yards from the rails, still upright, it stopped."

Caton described the East Texas forests like this: "I can still hear those longleaf pines playing a tune and the yellow pollen filling the sky. Fourteen-inch pine needles were so green they looked black, and pine stumps with resin an inch thick." He sat on one such stump and got stuck. "Mules would not cross a bridge if hooked to a wagon. They refused. The only way to get them to the other side of a stream was to lead them across the creek ... Once, it rained so hard we [the mules and Caton] had to spend the night near Pine Grove across Kimball Creek. All they [the local family he spent the night with] had to eat was block mutton and black coffee."

Carter Caton provided valuable information about the Shay locomotive now located on the campus at Stephen F. Austin State University. I quote from two of his hand-written letters, dated 1975: "I just saw a small part of the No. 2 Shay engine that came from Canden, Texas. I can give you a little history. The Bering Lumber Co. of Bering, Texas, bought the Shay from Lima Locomotive Co. in 1907. When the company ceased to operate in 1911, Mr. W.T. Carter & Bro. bought it from the Bering Lumber Co. The No. 2 Shay in 1912 was used in the hills to move the loaded cars that a rod engine could not handle. The original bell that belong [sic] to the Shay is in a small church on Highway 59 near the road not far from the little red store. I offered them $100 for the bell but the women in charge would not sell. It's not used any more, so the members say. I was Engineer at the time of purchase."

The second note read, "I was only too glad to give you the history

of the Shay. There were nine rod engines and a geared Shay, when they were all discarded and let go to rust. The cab was put on the Shay by a mechanic named Dunn. He made steel cabs in all the engines that did not have one already.

"Speaking of the Panama engine No. 201, it was built by the American Loco works 1906 and had a 5 ft. gauge wheel base as all government tracks in the Canal Zone was 5 ft., but could be converted to a standard gauge 4-8 ¼., I believe. I have written to Moscow to try to find out about the bell. I sure wish you could get it as there's where it belongs. The whistle you have is an antique as it has been many moons since I have seen one like it. I have a friend who collects Loco., artifacts and has just recently sold $18,000 worth to a museum in Pa., and has quite a collection now. You may can do some trading with him for a smaller whistle or bell. In case you can't get the one that belongs on the Shay, his name is John W. Hedge, 304 Glover Dr., Longview, Texas 75906. He would love to hear from you.

"I did not finish telling about the Panama 201. It and 3 others went to Arkansas and are now being worked over for use for a tourist attraction, if not already. Even the old passenger coach went to Arkansas."

Caton remembers the first woodburning cook stove sold in Polk County. The buyer wanted his money back because the stove smoked up the house. Seems he had built the fire in the oven.

Caton liked to recite a parody on Psalm 23, called the Loafers: "The government is my shepherd, I need not work ... "

Peter Racki

Peter A. Racki was born in Yugoslavia on June 24, 1897. He was reunited with his father, a white oak-stave merchant in Hunting, Texas, when he was three years old. Those staves, Racki said, went to France for kegs for shipping wine to America and Great Britain and for storing Scotch whiskey. Low-grade oak cooperage was used for olive oil shipments. Hence, Racki learned the business from his father before ocean shipping of such luxuries as French wine and Scotch whiskey was prohibited by the Eighteenth Amendment.

The stave business boomed for a while after the First World War. It waned when quality white oak was exhausted and the French began to bottle their wines for export abroad. In those days, the reuse of casks — worth $70 to $100 each — was prohibited in the United States. So, bottles replaced the wooden kegs. Until then, Racki noted, casks had been used and reused for fifty years.

Racki learned the logging and lumbering business the hard way. In the late 1920s, he logged for others, paying landowners $3 and $5 per thousand board feet, logging with mules, and working flatheads. "They were smarter than square heads," he said. Then, unable to sell logs, he put

in his own mill. "We didn't cut the land clean. We high-graded. Buyers were particular as the devil. Trees with any defect were left in the woods. If one sounded hollow, you left it. Typical diameters were 30 inches, unless it was an exceptionally good-looking tree."

The immigrant's first venture on his own was a pine-hardwood mill at Rye, Texas, begun in 1948. Soon cutting was limited to hardwood, stumpage costing up to $6 per thousand board measure. While most of the output of the Trinity River Valley Hardwood Lumber Company was utilized in Texas, some high-grade material went to the East for furniture.

Maintaining lumber quality was a problem: "We had a green inspector and a dried inspector. In the earlier days, if we didn't get 40 percent Number 1 grade oak, we quit that tract; ... went back later to get the rest of the trees for some other use." Hardwoods were mostly one merchantable log. "The rest of the tree was left in the woods to fertilize the ground."

About fires, Racki noted, "they were all deliberately set. Cattlemen wanted fresh grass in the spring. Fires didn't hurt the trees much .... Folks that had cattle running in the woods would throw a match everytime they saw a dry patch of grass. So there would be fresh grass .... When the Forest Service came in, and it began to get after people about setting fires, and they quit 'firen,' we didn't have this [the present] kind of woods. Now the fuel builds up on the ground 6 to 8 inches thick; so when that gets to burning, it takes timber and all. Back when the old cattlemen burned, there wasn't enough fuel on the ground to do that [kind of damage]."

About lumbering during World War II, Racki observed, "We couldn't get enough men to run the mill. They were all in the Army, munition plants, oil plants. They use to send a man out here from the War Production Board who asked what they could do to help. I said, 'Have you got any men?' That ended the conversation. During that time a lot of the little mills were making oil-field board. That's a cheap grade of lumber [used for planking well sites and roads]. It was suppose to be 3x8, but it turned out 2x7 inches. They got paid for 3x8 ... Trillions of feet of top-grade hardwood went into that stuff: pecan, white oak, even magnolia."

Racki paid $10 an acre for land he bought in the 1930s, "right in the middle of the Depression." This was a high price, but the land had good timber on it. The men "floated the logs down the Trinity River to Wallisville, close to Anahuac, for a big mill down there. This prime timber was heart pine and cypress." Cutters "girdled the trees and let them sit a year. Then they'd go back and cut them down, accumulate them in the sloughs, tie more than 50 logs together to make a raft, wait for the water to get high enough for floating, push them out into the river, and float them down. Three to four men rode the logs, camped on them, cooked on them, and at night tied them up. The Neches River is full of sinkers

Racki never hired a forester, though he did retain consultants. To this forestry dean he said, "I have a farm boy here that was a whole lot better than those *you* turn loose ... When he retired, I made him a promise, I'd pay him the difference between his Social Security and what he was getting then."

Blacks worked for the Trinity River Valley Company as mule skinners, seldom as flatheads. The principal problem encountered with the blacks was the need "to loan them money all the time to keep them going.... A truck driver every now and then wanted to borrow a dollar. What'd he want with a dollar? He belonged to the church down the road. The dollar was his dues. If he paid that, it was alright whatever he did; but you had to pay your dues."

Really good mules, weighing 1200 to 1500 pounds, were worth $400 to $500. They would live for eight to ten years if cared for. "Mules were never separated, always working as a team. In fact, when one got sick and died, you'd have trouble mating him with another. They didn't want to work other than together, ever. When loading logs on wagons in the woods, loaders just threw the lines up on the hanes and talked to them. The mule'd take that log right on up to that wagon, and when it hit the wagon, the mule would stop dead still. They didn't need much coaxing. I had a young mule from Kansas I picked up and put to work in the worst place in the world. The water was belly deep. He had to cross a flat. He never looked back. The log went right on. If you hooked him to something he couldn't move — like a true — at noontime, he'd kick the devil out of you. If you left him hooked to a log, he didn't pay you no mind. He knew he could move the log. But if he was hooked to something that wouldn't move, look out. They dragged logs 200 to 300 yards.

"Mules ate only once a day and drank water once a day. They got oats in one trough and alfalfa in another. A day's rations cost less than $2. That was cheap logging."

When questioned about injuries to workers, Racki said some were premeditated. "They'd want to get hurt, so they could write what they called 'polly.' Polly was short for an insurance policy."

To a question about wages, the lumberman replied, "In the '30s, $1.50 a day, a 10-hour day, 6 days a week."

Fuel for the mill? "Sawdust, and slabs when the sawdust pile was low."

Racki recalled how loggers searched for figured red gum for export. They could cut a box into a tree to see if it had enough red to make its harvest worthwhile. Walnut was bought from around home places for the unheard-of price of $100. "Owners never did get their $100. The feller who got the trees never came back."

And as for the valuable baldcypress tree, he narrated this story: "I

told a man who worked for me to mark the cypress trees he wanted to make boards out of to cover his house. Put a hack on them. A year later, I asked if he got that cypress tree. He nearly died laughing. I said, 'What's so funny?' He said, 'Kirby had so many more than you did, we got one of his.'

"That's the way it was in the Trinity River Valley of the Big Thicket until these companies hired foresters to watch their stuff."

Simon Henderson

The last of the four pioneers in the Texas forest industry is Simon W. Henderson, Jr. He was born in Keltys, now part of Lufkin, on March 19, 1904. His father worked in the office of the Angelina County Lumber Company (ACLC). After grammar school, Henderson quit the local school, later went to Lufkin's Southwest Commercial College for a year and a half, and then for a year at the L.C. Ferrell School, a private institution in New Orleans.

Simon Henderson became involved in the lumber business at the age of fifteen or sixteen by "hanging around the office at night and running up the log-scale on the adding machine, working for nothing."

ACLC was bought by Joe Kurth, Sr. from Charlie Keltys in 1887. It was the first company in the area to hire a full-time forester, in 1935. "Paul Hursey was a very capable forester whom we got to look after our forests, especially for a long-range outlook. Until that time, it was just a matter of buying a tract, cutting it out, and forgetting it. The last virgin timber that I recall was the 14,000 acres of longleaf near Zavalla that we bought from Kirky Lumber Corporation. We cut 300 million feet out in about ten years, at $12.50 per MBM. That was about 1933. All of our crowd thought we would go broke. At that time Ernest Kurth was manager of ACLC and Ely Weiner was president." The lumber mill's output included longleaf pine for ship-decking and big ship-timbers.

The price for the Zavalla stumpage was in contrast to the $5-$10 per acre the company usually paid for land and timber, most of which was bought before the crash in 1929, when prices were high. At about the time of the Depression, the company had 100,000 to 120,000 acres. Sam Rayburn Lake took 10,000 acres in the 1960s. Rights-of-way have taken more.

ACLC had about 350 men on its payrolls in the 1930s. Laborers made about 35¢ an hour, scale labor a little more. Rent for the company houses was $5 to $10 a month. Because all the company owners lived "on the grounds, if there was a hardship among the employees, the company or individuals among the owners took care of them." ACLC never had much labor trouble.

Let Henderson tell about how he got into the paper business: "My father, who died in 1923, and Ernest Kurth, were close friends. Later,

Ernest took me on. He wanted to organize a paper mill, and so he got in touch with Lou Calder, a prominent paper man in New York. At that time, Calder was with Charles Herty, a chemist who figured out how to control the pitch in southern yellow pine. [Herty died before the mill opened.] They organized the Southland Corporation with about $100,000 to promote the mill. They had several partners, Joe and Ernest Kurth and this 'old boy' who founded the Republic National Bank of Dallas. He had $25,000 in stock. They got him to come here and I drove him around, showing him the timber country and the lumber mills.

"The Angelina County Lumber Company, the Temple crowd at Diboll, and the Illinois Railroad managed to get the mill located on its (IRR) track, about 4 miles east of Lufkin. We let them (the IRR) have half interest. The IRR had been just a couple of rusty streaks for a long time; it ran to Chireno. We used it as a logging railroad and then, finally, it just dried up. We're talking about 1938."

Pressed for more background on the development of Southland Paper, Henderson said they logged as far away as fifty miles to supply the first newsprint machines, using much Temple [then the Southern Pine Lumber Company] wood. The organizers wanted to get into paper manufacturing because 'the lumber business was terribly cyclical, up and down." Paper, they thought, would be more profitable. Newspapers that joined the venture included the *Dallas News,* the Fort Worth *Star-Telegram,* and the *Daily Oklahoman.* The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association also participated.

At first twelve to fifteen Canadian paper-makers were brought in to get the mill running. Some stayed.

Henderson's personal relationship to Southland Paper was as secretary to Kurth, "sort of an office boy, to sign papers," the secretary said. He remained a director of the paper mill while continuing as vice president of ACLC.

About Lou Calder: "He started out with the Perkins, Goodwin Co. as an office boy. He bought stock in the company; and, as other owners in the company died, he bought more. Finally, I think he controlled the whole company. Calder was one of the original tenants of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City. He was one of those fellows who came up the hard way; had a place in Florida, an orange orchard, where he took people hunting and fishing."

Henderson related a story of how money was made, and lost, in the 1930s. When the U.S. Forest Service was purchasing land for the four national forests in Texas, Thompson Brothers had 96,000 acres for sale in Trinity County at $12.50 an acre. ACLC would have bought the tract, had not Weiner [a partner] insisted that "he had to have his dividends." The government bought it and, after four or five years, sold $5 million worth of timber.

These same three families — Kurth, Weiner, and Henderson — organized Lufkin Foundry and Machine Company, later known as Lufkin Industries, with $20,000 in capital. This company originally repaired sawmill machinery. Later it manufactured sawmill equipment.

In answering queries about the Ewing, Texas, operation, which Henderson had mentioned, he said they cut out eight to ten thousand acres of family-owned hardwood land and closed the mill there in 1936 or 1937. Henderson was president at the time of the closing. That mill was located seventeen miles east of Lufkin on the IRR. H.G. Bohlsen, an "old-timer down at New Caney," started the company, chartering it under his name in 1923 to harvest oak and gum. A year later, Bohlsen was killed when heavy 12x12-inch timbers fell on him while loading a gondola. The company name was then changed to Angelina Hardwood.

The Angelina and Neches River Railroad, which carried wood to the papermill at Herty and paper from the mill to the Southern Pacific and Cotton Belt railroads in Lufkin, was truly a short line road of only thirty-one miles. It, too, belonged to the Kurth, Weiner, and Henderson families. Towns such as Etoile and Chireno were once served by the line for delivery of feed and gravel.

Henderson concluded his comments by noting that Harvey Sprott was Southland's first forester, that many industrialists never expected the cut-over lands to grow trees again, and that the company's land investments in Washington State in the 1930s were soon liquidated because of the continued threat of destructive wildfires.

For Henderson, as for Wood, Caton, and Racki, industrial forestry had been a fascinating career.

EAST TEXAS COLLOQUY

The Association held its Spring meeting in Fort Worth on February 15-16 at the Hyatt-Regency Hotel. Cissy and Max Lale served as program and local arrangements committee persons, and did both jobs well. The program began on Friday afternoon with an address by Dr. Ron Tyler, Texas State Historical Association, and continued with a tour of Fort Worth's museum district. Saturday sessions began at nine o'clock and continued through luncheon. Jenkins Garrett, Fort Worth attorney and well-known map collector, spoke on the earliest maps of Texas. Awards announced and presented at the luncheon included: the Ralph W. Steen Service Award, given to Seth Walton, retired history professor at East Texas Baptist University; and the Lucille Terry Historical Preservation Award, presented jointly by the Association and the Texas Forestry Museum, went to the Gilbert House, nominated by the Farmers Branch Historical Preservation and Restoration Board.

The Association will hold its Fall meeting in Nacogdoches on September 15-16, 1991. Linda Hudson of Longview and Tyler Junior College serves as program chair. Terry West, chief historian for the National Forestry Service, will speak at the luncheon on Saturday, September 16. Recipients of the C.K. Chamberlain Award and the Ottis Lock Endowment Awards will be announced, and new Fellows of the Association will be honored. The meeting also will honor the memory of Dr. Robert S. Maxwell, Professor Emeritus and Regent's Professor at Stephen F. Austin State University, who died on December 29, 1990.

The Endowment Fund of the East Texas Historical Association offers each of us an opportunity to make a tangible, lasting contribution to the development of programming and activities of the Association. Because only the income from the Endowment is spent, a gift to the Endowment is a gift which keeps on giving for years to come.

Now we have a unique opportunity to enlarge our Endowment Fund. Association founder F. Lee Lawrence and his wife, Ann, have offered to make a challenge gift of $10,000 to match $50,000 from members and friends of the Association. If we meet this challenge, our Endowment Fund will exceed $65,000.

Gifts will count toward the challenge, which began when it was announced at the luncheon at our Spring meeting in Fort Worth. Checks should be made payable to the East Texas Historical Association Endowment Fund.

The Association once again will co-sponsor History Awareness Workshops with the Texas State Historical Association and other groups during

the summer of 1991. The first will be held in Nacogdoches at the Fredonia Hotel on June 11, and the second will be held in Austin on August 2-3, 1991. We are responsible for the program for the meeting in June, and will help out as directed at the meeting in August. Teachers are urged to write to us at Box 6223, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, TX 75962, for a copy of the program and details of the meeting. Registration will be conducted by the TSHA, 2/306 SRH, University Station, Austin, TX 78712.

DR. ROBERT SIDNEY MAXWELL

We record the passing of Dr. Robert S. Maxwell, professor emeritus of history at Stephen F. Austin State University. Bob Maxwell, my friend, was a charter member of the Association. At various times he served as member of the Board of Directors, president, committee chair and member, presenter and presider at sessions, recipient of the Ralph W. Steen Award for service to the Association, and he was a Fellow of the Association.

Dr. Maxwell died Saturday, December 29, 1990, just a little over a month after his seventy-ninth birthday. He was born November 26, 1911, in Newport, Kentucky. He played and coached basketball and remained all his life interested in sports, especially golf in later years. Dr. Maxwell received a master's degree from the University of Cincinnati and a Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University of Wisconsin. He taught at the University of Wisconsin and the University of Kentucky before moving to Stephen F. Austin State College in 1952. He became chairman of the Department of History in 1969 and continued in that capacity until his retirement in 1983.

Dr. Maxwell was named the first Distinguished Professor and the first Regent's Professor at SFA. He authored a number of books on the Progressive era and in the field of forest history, and held a Fulbright Professorship at Southhampton. He was a member of various historical associations, and of Christ Episcopal Church in Nacogdoches. He was a member of the Nacogdoches Kiwanis Club and the Piney Woods Country Club. He also served in the United States Army during World War II and was a captain of infantry in the European theatre.

Bob Maxwell and I traveled and roomed together frequently to attend historical meetings, and I came to know him as well as I know anyone in the history profession. I recall most vividly our trip a few years back to Lexington, Kentucky, to attend the Southern Historical Association. In some ways, it was a disappointing trip for Bob — the town where he had studied and taught before moving to Texas had changed much, and not all for the better. As we walked the streets of its dying downtown, in his memory a vital center of business during the 1940s, he was saddened. On the last day of the meeting his brother came from Cincinnati to collect

him for a visit. I remember the tenderness with which these two older men greeted each other, and was glad that his bittersweet visit "home" would have a happy ending. I trust that Bob is home again.

Memorial contributions may be sent to the Endowment Fund of the East Texas Historical Association, Box 6223, SFA Station, Nacogdoches, TX 75962, or to the Robert S. Maxwell Lectureship Fund, Department of History, Stephen F. Austin State University, Box 13013, Nacogdoches, TX 75962.

JIM BERRY PEARSON

by Randolph B. Campbell

Jim Berry Pearson, a member of the Association whose roots went deep into East Texas, died in Denton on June 18, 1990. Dr. Pearson was born in Gilmer on January 3, 1924. He served in the U.S. Army during World War II and earned B.A. and M.A. degrees from North Texas State University and a Ph.D. from the University of Texas, where he studied under Walter Prescott Webb. At the time of his death, Jim Pearson was a professor in the Department of History at the University of North Texas.

Jim Pearson taught history at Midwestern State University, the University of Texas at Arlington, and the University of Texas at Austin, as well as at North Texas. He served as assistant dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and assistant vice president for academic affairs at the University of Texas at Austin. He moved to North Texas as associate vice president for academic affairs in 1971 and served as Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences from 1973 to 1981.

Jim received many awards for his outstanding work as a teacher and administrator, including the Teaching Excellence Award from the University of Texas at Austin and the Distinguished Service Award from the Council of Chief State School Officers. In 1989 the University of North Texas recognized his overall contribution to that institution with its Special Recognition Award.

Jim Pearson's contributions to historical scholarship included two monographs, *The Maxwell Land Grant* and *A New Mexico Mining Story: The Red River Twiging Area*, and co-authorship of the text, *Texas: The Land and Its People.* He also served as advisory or book review editor on a variety of professional journals. While at the University of Texas at Austin, he took a leave and served as project director for the Council of the Chief State School Officers in Washington, where he edited a two-volume report, *Education in the States.*

Jim Pearson was active in numerous historical societies. At the time of his death, he was vice president of the Texas State Historical Association and a member of its Executive Council. He was to serve as president of the Association in 1991-1992.

Jim Pearson was a fine historian and an unfailingly kind and gentle man. I will never forget how, during those particularly vicious conversations that only academics can have about each other and administrators, a colleague of mine liked to say to him: "Come on, Jim, say something ugly about somebody." His only response was a smile. We will all miss Jim Pearson.

Memorial contributions may be sent to the UNT Foundation, marked for the Jim Berry Pearson Scholarship Fund, Box 13557, UNT Station, Denton, TX 76203-3557.

BOOK NOTES

James A. Michener's *TEXAS* helped us celebrate our Sesquicentennial a few years back, and despite roaming the world to continue his research and writing of other areas, Texas is now one of his "permanent" homes. And he continues to publish about Texas, witness *The Eagle and The Raven,* (State House Press, P.O. Box 15247, Austin, TX 78761) published just last year. If memory serves, I believe this originally was intended as a chapter for his aforementioned book on our state. The story will be familiar to all of us, but offers some details that will enlighten and some interpretations that will cause you to ponder.

What makes this little book so interesting, and potentially so valuable to those who follow and admire Jim Michener (myself included), is his lengthy introduction to this book. Using the allegory of an old apple tree past bearing, into which a farmer drove rusty nails to stimulate production, Michener compared recent health problems to the farmer's nails as the source of urgency that caused him to produce several volumes of varying lengths over the past decade at a rate that was out of proportion to his previous record. And he opens a window into his philosophy of work and of life in this introductory essay. As usual, he is quick to credit many for their help, in this case especially publisher Debbie Brothers, who worked for him as a secretary while he wrote *Texas.* The present writer is proud to know both Michener and Brothers, and forgives them the minor transgression of assigning another of his friends, William Barret Travis, with an incorrect military rank. If you like Michener and you like Texas, you will like this book.

Association member and past president Bob Bowman of Lufkin has published another of his interesting observations about our region. After a successful series on "The Best" of nearly everything in East Texas, books of East Texas colloqualisms, and a restaurant guide, comes now *The East Texas Sunday Drive Book.* It is available from The Best of East Texas Books, Box 1647, Lufkin, TX 75901 (409—634-7444). Bob recalls the pleasure of his Sunday drives with his parents and siblings to various places in East Texas. Each recommended drive — thirty are included — is designed to take about a half-day and averages 120 miles. Roads designated usually are improved, even paved. Each suggests interesting places to visit or to see, and a recommended restaurant. Maps accompany each drive, but the author recommends that you carry an official highway map along as well. The author's advice on how to enjoy a Sunday drive: "Take it easy, don't worry about the time, and occasionally stop along the roadside to smell the flowers or listen to the birds."

Another friend of things historical, Bill Timmons of El Paso, has published an excellent history of his city. *El Paso: A Borderlands History,* by W.H. Timmons (Texas Western Press, El Paso, TX 79968-0633, $20). Bill, who taught the history of Mexico and the Southwest at the University of Texas at El Paso for many years, became "Mr. History" in his community several years ago — literally. As part of a grant to instill a greater appreciation for

history in El Paso's schools and other organizations, Bill dressed up in costume and visited classrooms and club rooms to remind residents of their rich heritage. A good-natured rivalry between Bill and myself over which is older, Nacogdoches or El Paso, has produced a stronger friendship between us. Bill's book is recommended highly for those who want to know more about the border Southwest, and about our state's second-oldest city.

Encyclopedia USA: The Encyclopedia of the United States of America, Past & Present, volume 12, has just appeared. *Encyclopedia USA* is edited by Don Whisenhunt and published by Academic International Press, Box 111, Gulf Breeze, Fl 32561. This volume contains a number of articles by East Texans, including topics of interest to East Texans. As a former editor of this publication, your Journal editor continues to enjoy an interest in this publication. It contains much useful information about our nation.

Lincoln King has sent along the latest issue of *Loblolly* (Winter, 1991). It is available for $3 from Lincoln at Gary High School, Box 189, Gary, TX 75643. This issue, which is produced by Lincoln's students, is dedicated to World War II, especially the veterans of that conflict who live in Panola County.

Bill Groneman, *Alamo Defenders, A Genealogy: The People And Their Words* (Eakin Publications, P.O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709, $12.95), is, as its title suggests, a list of those who fought at the Alamo. After a two-page introduction, what follows is approximately 120 pages of biological data. A typical entry would include name, life dates, age at time of death in the Alamo, residence, military rank or duty, and a few words about the individual, with length determined by importance and/or availability of data. Another section quotes from letters or papers of the individuals. There are a dozen or so illustrations.

Malcolm D. McLean's latest volume in the series of *Papers Concerning Robertson's Colony in Texas,* volume XVI, is available from UTA Press, Box 190929, The University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, TX 76019-0929. This volume covers the period from August 10, 1837 through November, 1838. The volume was conceived, says McLean, as a simple task since he only intended to "tell what Sterling C. Robertson did in the Second Congress of the Republic...." However, he discovered that there were three sessions of the Congress instead of one, and that Robertson's activities were more extensive than first thought. To substantiate titles under the new government to lands long claimed, he had, among other things, to sue President Sam Houston, work to establish the General Land Office, and pass several pieces of legislation. McLean's book contains documents and data on the formation of counties, Robertson's work on various committees, and involvement in the location of a seat of government. Those who have followed this series definitely will want to continue their study of it. and those who may be discovering it for the first time will want to write to McLean to find out about the previous volumes.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Texas Senate, Volume 1, Republic to Civil War, 1836-1861, by Patsy McDonald Spaw, Editor (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1991. Photographs. Index. P. 394. $50.00 Hardcover.

First of a projected five volumes, this publication surveys the history of Texas from 1836 to 1861. Into its account of important historical events is interwoven the foundation, organization, membership, and actions of the nine senates of the Republic and the eight senates of the State of Texas that convened from independence to secession. Edited by Patsy McDonald Spaw, chief clerk, and the staff of the Senate Engrossing and Enrolling Department, it draws data from Senate Documents, newspapers of the era, legislation, and the personal papers of former members.

An appendix of more than sixty pages furnishes senator's names and the districts they represented during the first twenty-five years after independence. Lists of senators of the Republic of Texas were annotated by Chief Justice Thomas Phillips of the Texas Supreme Court, while those of early state senates were annotated by the staff of the Senate Engrossing and Enrolling Department.

The intent of each volume of the set is to provide "an informal reference work, giving information on who the members of the Senate were, providing vignettes of the more colorful members, detailing issues of the time and their resolution, and describing Senate proceedings and controversies (p. xi)." When completed, the five volumes will constitute a unique contribution to the history of Texas governing institutions. Studies of the governor's office and its incumbents have been published as well as histories of some of the state's courts, but full-scale treatments of one of its legislative chambers until now have not been forthcoming.

Although this "informal reference work" contains a liberal sprinkling of direct quotations from persons and documents, curious readers will be disappointed to find that footnotes are not supplied, leaving them to guess at sources. A notable exception, however, is the lengthy appendix, especially that portion devoted to the Senates of the Republic of Texas, which is documented generously. That documentation provides valuable, as well as interesting, biographical information on virtually all of the Republic's senators. An annotated bibliography partially compensates for the lack of notes.

Some East Texans are featured conspicuously in the accounts of the Senate's actions, especially during the time of the Republic. For example, Isaac W. Burton, who represented the Nacogdoches District in three early congresses; Kindred H. Muse, who represented Nacogdoches and Houston counties in three later congresses; Isaac Parker, who represented Nacogdoches, Houston, and Rusk counties in three congresses and four state legislatures; and John Alexander Greer, who represented San

Augustine in eight of the ten congresses. All receive extensive treatment.

Each volume of this series will provide a useful insight into the evolution and dynamics of an important segment of Texas government in its time period, and the complete five-volume study will depict the full story of the Senate and become a much needed research tool for students of Texas history and government.

Joe E. Ericson
Stephen F. Austin State University

Mapping Texas and The Gulf Coast, by Jack Jackson, Robert S. Weddle, and Winston DeVille (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1990. Bibliography. Maps. Notes. Index. P. 92. $29.50 Hardcover.

This volume, reader pleasing in design and structure, is composed of two essays. Each describes contributions of incredible individuals whose frontier experiences and endeavors are responsible for the rapid developments in Spanish and French cartography covering the Texas area during a brief, thirty-three year period from 1685 to 1718.

The first essay, *The Olivan Rebolledo — Saint-Denis Maps*, written by Jack Jackson and Robert S. Weddle, primarily treats three unpublished manuscript maps associated with Olivan presently housed in the *Archivo General de la Nacion*, Mexico, and identified in the text as Figures 1, 2, and 3.

These maps demonstrate the contributions made to the Olivan maps by Saint-Denis. Saint-Denis' explorations of the Red River, his friendship with the Indians of New Spain, and his alleged trade journeys across the interior of Texas in 1714 and 1716, provided him with information about New Spain coveted by and received by both Spain and France.

The second essay, *Le Maire and the "Mother Map" of Delisle*, written by Jack Jackson and Winston DeVille, features the works of Francois Le Maire, a French missionary stationed at Mobile, who, much to the neglect of his religious responsibilities, devoted himself to collecting cartographic information and drawing various maps of the territory north of the Gulf of Mexico from Florida to the Rio Grande. Saint-Denis was his primary source as to the Red River and New Spain east of the Rio Grande.

Through Le Maire's learned friend, Father Gean Bobe, chaplain of the Palace of Versailles, Le Maire's works were made available to the illustrious cartographer, Guillaume Delisle. The excellence of Le Maire's maps and reports was recognized by Delisle in both his correspondence and in the title of his famous 1718 map, *Carte De La Lousiane Et Du Cours Du Mississippi*, thereby preserving Le Maire's name in the annals of cartography.

I recommend this volume to all who are fascinated by maps and have wondered how some of these early maps are so credibly accurate.

Jenkins Garrett
Fort Worth, Texas

A History of the French Legation in Texas, by Kenneth Hafertepe, (Texas State Historical Association, 2/306 SRH, University Station, Austin, TX 78712) 1989. Photographs. Notes. P. 55. $4.50 Paper.

This publication gives a brief history of this historic building from its plans and construction to the restoration efforts of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. Built in 1841, this structure was to be the home of Dubois de Saligny, *charge d'affaires* to the Republic of Texas.

In 1848, Joseph W. Robertson, mayor of Austin, purchased the home and his family owned and occupied it until May 1940. The Daughters of the Republic of Texas wished to purchase the home and restore it, but could not raise the money required. In May 1945 the Texas Legislature passed a bill authorizing the use of remaining Centennial funds to purchase the home. The DRT was given custodianship of the French Legation in August 1949. This volume tells of their restoration efforts and photographs illustrate some of the furnishings which are there today.

Carolyn Ericson
Nacogdoches, Texas

A Bullet for Stonewall, by Benjamin King (Pelican Publishing Company, P.O. Box 189, Gretna, LA 70083) 1990. Novel. P. 267. $17.95 Hardcover.

A new twist is put on the subject of the death of Stonewall Jackson in this work of speculative historical fiction. Salmon P. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, frustrated by his increasing separation from the center of power in the government, acting alone, devises a scheme to hire an assassin to kill Jackson. From this implausible beginning the plot degenerates.

Chase steals the money to finance the plot by forging a ledger entry in records of the Department of the Treasury. From one inconceivable circumstance to another the author hurries on, with the book having more the feel of a made for TV soap opera movie of the "North-South" genre (including the usual overabundance of sexual situations) than the "startling", "thought-provoking contribution" it is advertised to be on the book's dustcover.

Jackson's Christianity is depicted as more of an intellectually debilitating weakness than the central strength of his character. While Christian-bashing seems popular among many authors today, it does not

make for accurate "historical" fiction.

The strength and interest of the book is King's excellent grasp of the minutiae of the period. Nonetheless, while preparing for this review, I continually found myself asking, "Do I like this book?" I finally decided that if I had to ask the question, I already had answered it.

Joe Martin
Lufkin, Texas

Border Boss: Captain John R. Hughes — Texas Ranger, by Jack Martin. Introduction by Mike Cox (Austin: State House Press, 1990) xvi + 236 PP. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. $21.95.

On August 10, 1887, John R. Hughes enlisted as a private in the Texas Rangers at Georgetown, Texas, thus inaugurating the career of a famous law enforcement officer. Over the next twenty-eight years — twenty-two as a Ranger captain — he distinguished himself as a man who "was never whipped in a fight, never lost a prisoner, and rarely failed to capture or kill the criminal he set after." As a consequence, "he richly deserved the title of Border Boss" (p. 5), writer and personal friend Jack Martin asserted in a biography of Hughes written in 1942.

Mike Cox, public information officer for the Department of Public Safety, was in complete agreement with this assessment, so much so that he was instrumental in having *Border Boss* republished. His efforts have produced highly commendable results. In a short introduction he has presented information about Hughes that was unavailable for the biography, since the Ranger captain did not die until 1947. Cox also has alerted readers to other papers and research materials concerning Hughes, and he has updated the bibliography on his subject. More importantly, he has allowed a present-day audience the opportunity to read about the exploits of a great Ranger captain who served on the rugged Texas frontier along the Rio Grande from the 1890s to 1915.

Ben Procter
Texas Christian University

Deep in the Heart: The Lives and Legends of Texas Jews, A Photographic History, by Ruthe Winegarten and Cathy Schechter (Eakin Publications, Inc., P.O. Drawer 90159, Austin, TX 78709) 1990. Photographs. Index. P. 256. $29.95 Hardcover.

This book offers a delightful, photographic history of Jewish people in Texas. It demonstrates that Jewish settlers have been part of the life of the state since 1579. Jews came to Texas with the Spanish almost thirty years before the first permanent English settlement in America. They lived on the harsh frontier, traded with Indian tribes, and fought on both sides of the American Civil War. Although Jews have always constituted less

than one percent of the population of Texas, they have contributed significantly to the economic, social, and cultural vitality of the state.

Many Jews took part in the Texas Revolution. For example, Dr. Moses Levy, General Sam Houston's surgeon general, was among the 300 men at the siege of Bexar in December 1835. "I am engaged ... in the real, stirring, and precarious struggle of man with man," he wrote (p. 10). Since then, Jews have fought heroically in every American war. Still, Jewish groups have suffered discrimination from reactionary associations such as the Ku Klux Klan. Cross-burnings and brutality were among the many nightmares that Jews endured between 1920 and 1945. Nevertheless, many Jews moved to the forefront of business, the professions, and politics. "I just wanted to show what I could do with my brains," said Albert Lasker, a genius of modern advertising (p. 135).

The book cites numerous Jewish Texans who have excelled in their fields, including Annette Strauss, mayor of Dallas; Stanley Marcus; Nobel Prize winner Joseph Goldstein; and William Zale, of Zales Jewelry. This book is well-written, well-documented, and largely based on original research. It is an absolute must for lovers of Texas history, ethnic studies, and good books in general.

Valentine J. Belfiglio
Texas Women's University

Pioneer Jewish Texans: Their Impact on Texas and American History for Four Hundred Years, 1590-1990, by Natalie Ornish. (Texas Heritage Press, P.O. Box 12765, Dallas, TX 75225) 1990. Illustrations. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 336. $39.95 Cloth.

Deep in the Heart: The Lives and Legends of Texas Jews, by Ruthe Winegarten and Cathy Schechter. (Eakin Press, P.O. Drawer 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1990. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 263. $29.95 Cloth.

Scarcely a year apart appear two pictorial histories of Texas Jews, similar in content but from different publishers. Both recount the Jewish contributions to Texas history, culture, and economic development. That contribution has been enormous.

Cabeza de Vaca is conceded to have been the first European of record to traverse what is now Texas. That odyssey occurred between 1528 and 1536. De Vaca was followed in less than a half century by the first Jew of record, Gaspar Castano de Sosa, whose peregrinations were limited to the Trans-Pecos area. Both books bring the story to the present time.

In *Pioneer Texas Jews,* Ornish has organized her material into categories: adventurers, soldiers, colonizers, statesmen, ranchers, financiers, wildcatters, humanitarians, merchants, educators, artists, doctors, lawyers, etc. This approach creates a rough chronology: Winegarten and

Schechter observe a more precise chronology. In both books the story is presented in terms of individuals — dozens of them. Their contributions are duly noted along with their various honors — a few large and countless small.

Inevitably, those who record this kind of grass-roots history are confronted with the necessity of relying on family lore and tradition. Such source material cannot be accepted uncritically. Ornish asserts, for example, that Herman Ehrenburg, the boy soldier of Goliad, was a Jew. Not true. Winegarten and Schechter, although not unscathed, have negotiated this minefield far more successfully than Ornish, whose claims at times are unnecessarily extravagant.

There is the further problem of putting these individual stories into some sort of context. How did all these pieces fit into the whole? Again Winegarten and Schechter have the edge. Each chapter begins with an overview of Texas history at a particular time, interwoven with an account of Jewish activity in that same time span. Moreover, their prose style is more sophisticated than in Ornishes', which, at times, is superficial and cliche-ridden.

In both books the choice of illustrations is rewarding, but here *Pioneer Texas Jews* scores, because the images are crisper and the page layout more felicitous. The serious student should probably acquire both of these publications. Ornish is worth having for the nuggets it contains and the leads it offers. But if a single choice is to be made, then Winegarten-Schechter is the hands-down choice. It should be noted that the latter contains a useful glossary of Hebrew words, as well as a timeline to aid comprehension. Both volumes have substantial endnotes, extensive bibliographies, and good indexes. *Deep in the Heart* carries the sanction of the Texas Jewish Historical Society.

Al Lowman
Stringtown

Common Bonds. Stories By and About Modern Texas Women, by Suzanne Comer, Editor. (SMU Press, Box 415, Dallas, TX 75275) 1990. Short Stories. Fiction. P. 340. $10.95 Paper. $22.50 Cloth.

In *Common Bonds: Stories By and About Modern Texas Women,* editor Suzanne Comer successfully accomplishes the seemingly impossible task of producing a literary anthology which is, indeed, representative of the lives of "modern Texas women." All of the thirty-two short stories are set in the twentieth century, but many of the concerns are as old as womanhood. Here are the ravages of time, the frustrations of courting, the fears of growing older, the pangs of needless loss. These, of course, are concerns which are not new to Texas women; the "heroines" here, however, often face such challenges with a resolve born of the knowledge that life can hold something more than they have been taught to expect.

Particularly touching are Elizabeth Davis's "The Hawk," which forcefully confronts the pain and confusion of early loss; Annette Sanford's "Standing By," an account of role-reversal between a mother and daughter; and "The Legacy," Lianne Elizabeth Mercer's tale of the acceptance of death. These selections are almost joyful in their combinations of suffering and beauty.

The final episode in the anthology is an unhappy one. Suzanne Comer, senior editor at Southern Methodist University Press, began this work in 1986. In 1990, only a few days after publication of *Common Bonds,* Comer succumbed to cancer. The variety and talent represented in this work are a tribute to her perseverance and abilities. She hoped, above all else, to capture "What [women] write about when we write about ourselves" (p. xviii). Fortunately for her readers, Suzanne Comer succeeded in that aim.

Vista K. McCroskey
Southwest Texas State University

My Dear Mollie, Love Letters of a Texas Sheep Rancher, by Agnesa Reeve Hendrick-Long Publishing Co., P.O. Box 12311, Dallas, TX 75225) 1990. Maps. Photographs. P. 173. $17.95 Hardcover.

Upon visiting Austin for a family wedding, John Barclay McGill was smitten with a cousin who had grown up from the young child he had known before. Being a journalist and adept with words, he decided to write and tell her of this new dimension of his feelings that had changed his life. Mollie McCormick, astonished but pleased, began a correspondence which lasted over a year and eventually led to marriage. These letters portray not only a deep affection and love for a woman, but the everyday life of a young man turned sheep rancher and the hardships he suffered on the frontier of Texas about the time the frontier was ending.

Encompassing the melodrama of boy loves girl, girl plays fickle, father disapproves of suitor, long distances and few visits, fear she will find another, etc., make this collection of letters relevant to today's youth. However, they also say much about life in the 1880s and 1890s, including hardships on the plains, lifestyles, etiquette, courage, and disappointment of a suitor in those times. As each letter was read the anticipation of the next one was there. Even though only his letters to her were included, the reader knew what she had replied.

This was one of those books the reader wanted not to end and when finished wanted to know "the rest of the story!" This was an extremely enjoyable book and an excellent use of primary source materials. The author also includes preface information about the family, the author of the letters, and their position in Texas society. A small epilogue told what

happened to them, but also proved that there is more to the story! This book is a must for Texana collectors.

Linda J. Cross
Tyler Junior College

Katherine Ann Porter and Texas: An Uneasy Relationship, by Clinton Machann and William Bedford Clark, Editors (Texas A&M University Press, College Station, TX 77843) 1990. Photographs. Bibliography. Index. P. 191. $29.50 Hardcover.

This sampling of memorabilia, criticism, and polemic grew out of a symposium held at Texas A&M University in 1988. The "Uneasy Relationship" is focused in the two "slights" that the Great State made to the great author: in 1939 her collection, *Pale Horse, Pale Rider,* "was passed over by the recently organized and male-dominated and establishment-oriented Texas Institute of Letters in favor of the decidedly inferior *Apache Gold and Yaqui Silver* of a favorite son, J. Frank Dobie" (Sylvia Ann Grider's "Introduction," xvi), and "set off a reaction that continued until 1964" (Sally Dee Wade, 116). "The other rift between Porter and Texas occurred twenty years later in 1959, when through an apparent misunderstanding, the University of Texas did not name its new library after her" (xvii).

These historical *faux pas* are literally or figuratively symbolic of the "rift" which the collection is meant to understand or to close (xiv). Though Grider's later essay in the collection is more biographical, the gendered polemics are distracting: "I think I have illustrated the common urge among Katherine Ann Porter's contemporaries, disciples, and followers to obliterate her from the record and to deny her preeminence as the first Texas writer to achieve national and international stature" (52). Larry McMurtry, for instance, finds Porter a "threatening figure" who inspires his "sexist" attacks on her ability (51). Later in the book Sally Dee Wade treats Porter's distaste for the "regional" and "provincial" (thus Dobie, Bedichek, and Webb) and details the two slights Grider mentions.

The other essays, however, do not hold to Grider's "reestablishment"-of-Porter's-place polemic. Interesting and delightful are the reminiscences of Indian Creek by Willene Hendrick and the letters quoted by Cleanth Brooks. Don Graham, in a lucid essay, shows Porter "as a Texas Writer in a specifically Southern context" (60), and Thomas Walsh documents the influence of Mexico and its culture on the stories and the writer. Janis Strout's essay looks at actual geographical "estrangement" in the texts and focuses on the dichotomies of distance/autonomy and home/belonging. Darlene Habrour Unrue, with debt to the biographers and critics, covers the general literary influences.

As its post-script, the collection contains an annotated chronological bibliography of Texas writing on Porter from 1905 to 1987.

Lee Schultz
Stephen F. Austin State University

Southern Timberman: The Legacy of William Buchanan, by Archer H. Mayor (University of Georgia Press, Athens, GA 30602) 1988. Photographs. Index. Bibliography. P. 263. $30.00 Hardcover.

The legacy of William Buchanan, by Archer H. Mayor, is a tribute to the history of the timber industry. In *Southern Timberman,* Mayor effectively chronicles a century of struggles, triumphs, and disappointments of William Buchanan and his heirs, who rose to the challenges of preserving family honor and tradition.

Mayor's extensive research and interviews provide a factual accounting of this time. Through numerous quotes and photographs, the reader is able to visualize the aggressive lifestyle of William Buchanan as well as the attitudes and hardships of the people who lived and worked in the sawmill towns he built.

Mayor effectively profiles the family members who followed in William Buchanan's footsteps. Events such as son-in-law Stanley Steeger's decision to begin a reforestation program are vital in historical accountings of the timber resource and the forests we now enjoy. Yet another decision by Steeger's son-in-law, John O'Boyle, to expand into the paper industry reveals that the same competitiveness and drive was still as much alive in the 1960s as when the first sawmill was built.

Southern Timberman takes the reader from 1880s through 1979 when the Buchanan era came to an end when the business was sold to International Paper Company. Mayor's work is a valuable contribution to the history of the men and women who helped build the timber industry of today.

Ron Hufford
Texas Forestry Association

Easy Money: Oil Promoters and Investors in the Jazz Age, by Roger M. and Diana Davis Olien (University of North Carolina Press, P.O. Box 2288, Chapel Hill, NC 27515) 1990. Notes. Glossary. Index. P. 216. $11.95 Paper. $29.95 Hardcover.

The authors describe how World War I prosperity and the nation's appetite for oil speculation brought forth some of the most ingenious thieves in history, many of whom were promoters in Fort Worth and Houston. Promoters have played a constructive role in the American petroleum industry, but in the 1920s, too many oil sharks routinely

capitalized corporations for hundreds of thousands of dollars largely on the basis of imaginary assets.

Many promoters were inept. Frederick A. Cook, the erstwhile Arctic explorer and promoter of Eagle Oil, was so blinded by his dreams that he proved to be as incompetent as he was dishonest. Robert A. Lee was an impoverished, semiliterate, retired janitor until he was transformed into a general and a scion of Robert E. Lee by the promoters of General Lee Interests. He was wholly incapable of continuing the hoax when investigators moved in. Even S.E.J. Cox, described by the Federal Trade Commission as the "most seductive and unreliable promoter in America (p. 104)," lacked the management acumen to build a personal fortune. Nevertheless, they and others bilked investors out of millions of dollars.

Federal and state authorities generally lacked the funding and manpower to conduct meaningful investigations. After the Harding Administration scandals, however, the Department of Justice, needing a diversion, prosecuted Cook, Cox, Lee, and a few others and dispatched them to Leavenworth. Most operators then restricted their hyperbolic propaganda until the stock market crash ended the great speculative boom. Tens of thousands of individuals suffered financial losses, and the scandals made it difficult for honest oilmen to raise venture capital.

This social and business history is well organized and offers a wealth of new material on the oil industry. The authors amply document their findings with court records and business papers and ably describe the oil mania in colorful detail.

George Green
The University of Texas at Arlington

Texas Toys and Games, by Francis Edward Abernethy (Southern Methodist University Press, Box 415, Dallas, TX 75275) 1990. Bibliography. Photographs. Index. P. 253. $14.95 Paper. $24.95 Hardcover.

As this remarkably important and informative volume points out, toys and games provide their participants and creators with tremendous emotional and physical pleasure. More importantly, perhaps, many games and toys transcend mere amusement because they offer educational value as well as the development of hand-eye coordination.

Part I notes that such toys as kites, floaters, weapons, and dolls — to name only a few that are covered in this exhaustive work — originally were crafted from available natural materials. The folklorist in this section

also provides the reader with precise step-by-step instructions that will allow him to create his own toys that will, in turn, reflect personal pride. Part II addresses the educational value and pure pleasure participants enjoy while playing clapping games, Steal the Bacon, marbles, and Rags, as well as other frontier games. These amusements, according to Texas' leading folklorists, satisfied a child's need to play/work with groups while at the same time the child gains an understanding of dominance and competition for territory. In Part III, five folklorists discuss the cultural, economic, and inherited characteristics of mankind that have helped make Texans recreational people.

This text is not limited to the folklorist but to all who are peripherally interested in folklore as such but are vitally interested in toys and games as they study their impact on culture.

Michael K. Schoenecke
Texas Tech University

Black Cats, Hoot Owls & Water Witches, Beliefs, Superstitions and Sayings from Texas, edited by Kenneth W. Davis and Everett Gillis (University of Texas North Texas Press, P.O. Box 13856, Denton, TX 76203) 1990. Sketches. P. 112. $8.95 Paper.

When I was a young boy growing up in East Texas, we frequently ate at my grandparents' suppertable at Slocum, often dining on fresh fish from the Neches River and Box Creek. My grandmother always cautioned her guests not to drink milk on these occasions, claiming that "milk with fish is poisonous."

It was a piece of advice that has lingered with me all my life and, to this day, I shudder when I mix the two at mealtime. My mother, in her late seventies, shuns fish entirely because she "likes milk too much to give it up for fish."

I was delighted to find that Kenneth W. Davis and the late Everett A. Gillis — both of the Department of English at Texas Tech University — have included that old superstition among their delightful collection of beliefs and sayings from Texas, *Black Cats, Hoot Owls and Water Witches.*

Davis and Everett probably haven't included every superstition you'll find in rural (and urban) Texas, but they've done a good job in including every one I can remember, including such memorable, old-time beliefs as:

•"If there is a ring around the moon, count the number of stars within that ring. Then you will know how many days there are before there will

be rain (a favorite of Edward Perkins of Holland)."

•"If you have your eggs setting in February and it thunders, you won't get a good hatch (Eugenia McNeill of Crosbyton).

•"The sun shining on your wedding day means a good marriage (Susanne Brown, San Antonio)."

•"To remove warts, bury the same number of beans as you have warts. As you walk off, do not look back. Your warts will leave in one day (Alva Holman, Lubbock)."

Texas is remarkably rich in country superstitions, beliefs, and sayings — and Davis and Gillis have performed a valuable folklore service in collecting many of them. Their book is enhanced by the wonderful woodblock illustrations of artist Teel Sale from the University of North Texas.

Bob Bowman
Lufkin, Texas

The Money Domino, A Childhood Adventure Across the Texas Plains to Colorado, by Robert H. "Buck" Rodgers (West Texas Museum Association, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX 79409) 1990. Illustrations. Photographs. P. 151.

Memoirs of a Rolling Stone 1875-1905, by Andrew Jarvis Giraud and Edward Hake Phillips (Andrew Giraud, Jr., Rt. 1, Box 202A, Pottsboro, TX 75076) 1990. Maps. Index. P. 197. $22.00 Paper.

Personal memoirs offer special insights into the past by depicting first-person details and anecdotes about bygone eras while revealing a great deal about the attitudes and points of view of the writers. *Memoirs of a Rolling Stone 1875-1905* presents the peripatetic recollections of Andrew Jarvis Giraud, who spent his adolescence and early manhood exercising an incredible wanderlust. Giraud's mother died when he was a boy, and his father was a drunkard. Born and reared in Galveston, Giraud was boyhood friends with feisty "Lil Arthur" (Jack) Johnson, who grew up to become prize fighting's first black heavyweight champion. When Giraud was fourteen years of age he left Galveston and commenced a decade and a half as a hobo, traveling in "Side-Door Pullmans" (empty boxcars) and feeling equally at home in a "Jungle" around a "Mulligan" or in a saloon eating a lunch at the the bar for the price of a beer. Giraud frequently worked for floral nurseries, dairies, wheat combining crews, fruit picking gangs, and cattle and sheep ranchers. He barnstormed with a female baseball team, cooked in a Harvey House, prospected for gold, found

jobs at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 and the New Orleans Mardi Gras in 1894, and returned to his home town long enough to dig for survivors of the disastrous Galveston hurricane of 1900. Before finally settling down at the age of thirty, he had traveled throughout the West and Mexico and much of the rest of the United States. He wrote *Memoirs of a Rolling Stone* as an old man, but he was able to recall a rich variety of period detail, while indulging in occasional exaggerations, which are pointed out as part of an excellent editing job by Edward Hake Phillips, retired professor of history at Austin College.

A more restricted story in distance and chronology, but far more charming and vigorous, is *The Money Domino* by Robert H. "Buck" Rodgers. In 1913, when Buck was four, his family left the cotton fields of Texas with the hope of establishing a cattle ranch on a homestead claim in Colorado. The Rodgers clan, including Buck's parents, siblings, grandparents, and uncles, traveled to Colorado in a family wagon train. It proved impossible to begin a cattle operation, and the dream was abandoned in 1918. But the family sustained a genuine pioneer experience for five years, and Rodgers has preserved the adventure with exuberance, humor, and a perception of background that make *The Money Domino* a delightful and historically valuable reading experience.

Bill O'Neal
Panola College

The Art of Tom Lea, compiled by Kathleen G. Hjerter (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843) 1989. Color and Black and White Reproductions. P. 256. $39.95 Hardcover.

For years now Tom Lea has stood at the crossroads of art and history, a painter who depicts history as most would have had it look, and a gifted author who, after four novels and a two-volume history of the King Ranch, plus various other writings, could have earned his living with his pen equally as well as with the brush. Even as a child, Lea knew that he wanted to be an artist, but his training at the Art Institute of Chicago, under muralist John Norton, prepared him for the historian's role as well. Returning to El Paso following several years in New Mexico, Lea won his first large commissions from the federal government and painted murals for post offices and government buildings in El Paso, Seymour, and Odessa as well as several out-of-state cities. These, plus early illustrations for J. Frank Dobie's *Apache Gold and Yaqui Silver*, led to a commission from *Life* magazine as a correspondent during World War II, permitting him to see much of the action in the Pacific firsthand.

It was only after he returned from the war and found that post-war artistic trends had "passed me by" that he settled into a style readily recognizable in the many books that he illustrated — his, Dobie's, and many publications by his friend and designer Carl Hertzog, also of El Paso — and that he became serious about his talent as a writer. His first novel, *The Brave Bulls,* resulted from his study of bullfighting. *The Wonderful Country, The Hands of Cantu, The Primal Yoke,* and *The King Ranch* followed, all with Lea's dramatic illustrations. He wrote *In the Crucible of the Sun* in 1974 to complete the story of the King Ranch by documenting its Australian operations.

A 1971 trip to England, where Lea saw John Constable's cloud paintings and had the opportunity to read much of his correspondence, led to an enthusiastic return to the easel, this time with a new style that emphasized light-infused colors and forms rather than pictures where light serves primarily to sharply define the images. Lea's colorful canvases throughout the 1970s and 1980s show that he relished this new insight, even as he continued to choose many of his themes from history.

This sumptious production from Texas A&M University Press is a long-awaited record of Tom Lea's career. William Weber Johnson, who authored the delightful study of Kelly Blue which the A&M Press reprinted several years ago, has contributed an insightful, warm, and informative essay. And dozens of Lea's prints, drawings, and paintings are reproduced in faithful color or dramatic black and white. Kathleen Gee Hjerter's careful compilation includes several wonderful surprises, such as Lea's compelling and graphic prints made during his sojourn in New Mexico and the mural studies that he made, even those that he did not get to paint in final form.

The unfortunate aspect of this handsome book, however, is that it does not tell us as much as we would like to know about the man who has played such as important role in the literary and artistic life of our state. There is no attempt, for example, to tell us what portion of his work is not represented in this book. Nor are many of his later works given any historical context. Are there stories behind paintings as different as *Yesterday* (1974) and *Durango Design* (1977)? We are told even less about his books, not even the years in which they were published. Even if this book, for reasons unexpressed, could not have contained a catalogue raisonne' of Lea's work, surely a bibliography of his writings could have been included.

Tom Lea is a handsome and personal tribute to an impressive career, that would have profited from considerably more scholarship.

Ron Tyler
Texas State Historical Association

The Laughing West, Humorous Western Fiction, Past and Present, An Anthology, by C.L. Sonnichsen, Editor and Compiler (Swallow Press/Ohio University Press, Scott Quadrangle, Athens, OH 45701) 1988. Notes. P. 300. $11.95 Paper. $24.95 Cloth.

Scholars of American literature have written extensively on the comic element in nineteenth-century American fiction, but there has been little done in the way of critical analysis on modern humorous western fiction. In *The Laughing West,* Professor C.L. Sonnichsen partially fills that gap by providing a generous selection of twenty-one humorous pieces of modern western humor with a lengthy, critical general introduction, section introductions, afterword, and bibliography.

Most of the excerpts in the anthology come from novels and short stories written after World War II. Only one woman writer, however, is included in the volume; the others are white Anglo-American males. Sonnichsen has excluded from the work the West Coast (that is, the states of California, Washington, and Oregon), but few will object to this restriction.

For the most part Texas writers are well represented in the book; they include John Nichols, author of *The Milagro Beanfield War* (1976); Larry L. King, *The One-Eyed Man* (1966); H. Allen Smith, *Return of the Virginian* (1974); Dan Jenkins, *Baja Oklahoma* (1981); and William Brinkley, *Peeper: A Comedy* (1981).

The selections strongly suggest that modern western humor has undergone a remarkable transformation since the nineteenth century. Indeed, the humorous fiction of the modern west resembles modern American fiction more closely than it does nineteenth-century American humorous fiction. As Sonnichsen notes in the introduction, the humor of the West has grown "dimmer and grimmer, and shifted from the country and rural to the urban." Nevertheless, the anthology apparently has captured the interest of readers because it is now in its third printing.

James H. Conrad
East Texas State University

The Twentieth-Century West, Historical Interpretations, edited by Gerald D. Nash and Richard W. Etulain (University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, N.M. 87131) 1898. Maps. Charts. Bibliography. Index. P. 454. $17.50 Paper. $40.00 Cloth.

"What happened to the American West — the region west of the 98th meridian — after the frontier was no more?" (xi) To answer that broad question, editors Gerald Nash and Richard Etulain, both of the University of New Mexico, have compiled thirteen diverse essays, supplemented by an historiographical entry and a selective bibliography, for this book. They succeed in this ambitious undertaking in many ways. Perhaps the best contributions concern the peoples of the West; especially useful are the essays defining the sub-regions of the area and the importance of modern urban centers. In other sections authors comment on assorted topics ranging from the environment and the economy to art and literature. Without question, *The Twentieth-Century West, Historical Interpretations* explores numerous and varied aspects of the Trans-Mississippi region.

While anyone interested in regional history will learn from this book, perhaps graduate students are its most likely, and most appropriate, audience. While the research is sound, certain articles are tedious and difficult. Others are too narrow in scope for most readers. Still others use large numbers of statistics without explanations which non-statisticians can understand. On the positive side, authors are not afraid to analyze and to draw conclusions pertaining to the West as a whole. In addition, each writer suggests topics for further research — especially numerous thesis and dissertation topics. For students of Western History, *The Twentieth Century West, Historical Interpretations* will be a welcome addition to their library.

Eddie Weller
San Jacinto College — South

Dress Gray, A Woman at West Point, by Capt. Donna Peterson (Eakin Press, P.O. Drawer 90159, Austin, TX 78709) 1990. Photographs. P. 254. $17.95 Hardcover.

This account of life at the United States Military Academy by one of its early (1982) woman graduates is both fascinating and disappointing. It is fascinating in its portrayal of the demeaning and substantial hurdles placed in the way of women at West Point. It is disappointing because it often seems to have been written more as a part of Ms. Peterson's unsuccessful campaign for Congress in 1990 than an attempt to inform or propose solutions to the very real problems faced by women in the military.

Any graduate of a service academy has a right to feel proud of his or her accomplishment. Peterson, however, seems to have done little wrong during her four years at West Point and in this amazingly self-centered account, she continually reminds the reader of her ability and dedication. "If I was going to be a good cadet I was going to follow *all* the rules, not just the ones they checked up on" (p. 78). Ironically, it is this attitude that leads to her failure to achieve a major leadership position during her senior year, a failure that clearly still weighs heavily on her memories of West Point and which she blames on a "betrayal." Despite her bitterness, Ms. Peterson's views of West Point are often as rigid and unrealistic as those of many of the old alumni she castigates. No officer who is not a West Point graduate, she claims, is qualified to be a West Point TAC. No civilian is qualified to be Secretary of the Army. Only the Academy is competent to run the Academy.

Some readers will be offended by Ms. Peterson's unsubtle attempt to make political capital out of her West Point experience, particularly since she accepted her appointment with no intention of remaining in the Army. The use of a military title on the dust jacket — three years after leaving active duty — is inappropriate. At the same time, however, her subject is compelling and important. The ultimate right of free citizens — men and women — is the right to bear arms in defense of the Republic. Whatever faults Ms. Peterson may have had as a cadet, her tenacity and that of other women graduates is a significant contribution to the full realization of that right.

At its core this book is the story of a unconsciously self-centered college student who finds out that many people do not see the world the same way she does. It is not an important book but it will be of some interest to readers interested in West Point, the issue of women in the military, or some voters in the Second Congressional District.

Ron Spiller
Nacogdoches, Texas

Eisenhower's Lieutenants, The Campaign of France and Germany, 1944-1945, by Russell F. Weigley (Indiana University Press, 10th & Morton Sts., Bloomington, IN 47405) 1990. Photos. Maps. Notes. Append. Index. P. 832. $19.95 Paper. $39.95 Cloth.

This is truly an admirable work — once the author's announced intentions are ignored. The book is a sweeping, comprehensive, and instructive history, perhaps the best single-volume work on its subject yet to appear. If one does overlook the author's several questionable theses as

to its justification, this is one all students of World War II will wish to own.

Writers, including himself, he postulates in his preface, have tended to distance themselves from the "drum-and-trumpet" school of military history (p. xv) in favor of sociopolitical analyses. The result? "An effort to avoid venturing into the heat of battle," he declares.

Invoking the sainted D.S. Freeman, Temple historian Weigley proposes to correct this by titling this study in imitation of "Lee's Lieutenants" and then proceeds to study Patton, Hodges, Montgomery, *et al* — not the dog face and junior officer who won the victory with their courage and blood. The irony is that he features on the short title page a British aphorism: "He who has not fought the Germans does not know war."

As for any failure to study the man with a gun in his hand, Weigley might have tried Charles MacDonald's *Company Commander,* (1947), Robert Merriam's *Dark December,* (1947), John Toland's *Battle: The Story of the Bulge,* (1959) and John Eisenhower's *The Bitter Woods* (1969) — to choose examples from only one battle.

Questionable, too, is the author's assertion of "a relative paucity of biographies, especially of studies of generalship ...." (p. xvi). One wonders if Professor Weigley has heard of Martin Blumenson, Stephen Ambrose, or John Eisenhower, among many others.

All this said, the Temple professor demonstrates total understanding of how the World War II American army came to be from a "constabulary" of 190,000 men and officers in 1939 (p. 12). In that year, in the words of George Marshall, it was a "midget force," the nineteenth in the world behind even Portugal. By 1945, this "midget force" had grown to a power which bestrode western Europe. This book shows how it was used.

If only, instead of generals we all know about, Weigley had given more attention to the likes of fighting "lieutenants" like Earl Rudder, who led his battalion up the cliffs of Pointe du Hoc, to Creighton Abrams, the tank battalion commander who became chief of staff, to Maurice Rose, an armored division commander killed by a German foot soldier in the final months ....

Max S. Lale
Marshall and Fort Worth

Hanging Sam: A Military Biography of General Samuel T. Williams, From Pancho Villa to Vietnam, by Col. Harold J. "Jack" Meyer (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 13856, Denton, TX 76203) 1990. Photos. Bibliography. Index. P. 183. $16.95 Paper.

This could just as well have been titled "Hang-In Sam," for this tactless, durable soldier. The Hanging Sam epithet was acquired at a military trial of a rapist when, rebelling at the lengthy process he exclaimed, "Hang the SOB."

Sam Williams of Denton was fairly typical of those non-West Point graduates who entered the military service as regular officers following World War I. He was not over educated, industrious, ambitious, neat, willing to partake of hardships, physical activity (Sam played polo) and qualified for rank two grades beyond that held.

Wounded twice in World War I while serving with the 90th Division, between the wars he attended the necessary schools and somewhere along the line advanced from being a mediocre writer to 'the finest I have ever known." As a brigadier general with the 90th Division and an attitude towards it of a proprietor, he led troops off a stricken ship after D-Day in Normandy, and berated two division commanders for their poor performance in combat (general officers in Normandy were demoted and relieved right and left). Often forward with the troops, he was himself "busted" and returned statesides. Officers valued serving under him.

Here Williams' force of character was shown in his return to grace with the famed 26th Infantry of 1st Division in post-war Germany, where he established standards, followed by duty in Korea (command of 25th Division), Japan, and Vietnam, where he won his third star. He died, childless, at Fort Sam Houston, on April 25, 1984.

Haynes Dugan
Shreveport, Louisiana

THE RALPH W. STEEN AWARD

Mrs. Lera Thomas
F. Lee Lawrence
Robert Cotner
Mrs. Tommie Jan Lowery
Mrs. E.H. Lasseter
Archie P. McDonald
Robert S. Maxwell
Max S. Lale
Mrs. W.S. Terry
Captain Charles K. Phillips
Bob Bowman
William R. Johnson
James I. Nichols
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Robert W. Glover
Seth R. Walton, Jr.

THE FELLOWS AWARD

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Ralph Wooster
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Francis E. Abernethy
Dorman H. Winfrey
Mike Kingston
Bob Bowman
Max S. Lale
Bill O'Neal

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Elvie Lou Luetge
Randolph B. Campbell
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George N. Green
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The Gilbert House
Farmers Branch, Texas

*Deceased

Angelina & Neches River Railroad Co., Lufkin

Bob Bowman Associates, Lufkin

Commercial National Bank, Nacogdoches

Denton Public Library, Denton

East Texas Oil Museum, Kilgore

Farmers Branch Historical Park, Farmers Branch

First City National Bank, Lufkin

Fredonia State Bank, Nacogdoches

Harrison County Historical Society, Marshall

Kilgore Chamber of Commerce

Lamar University, Beaumont

The Long Trusts, Kilgore

M.S. Wright Foundation, Nacogdoches

North Harris County College, Houston

Panola Junior College, Carthage

Sam Houston State University, Huntsville

San Jacinto College North, Houston

San Jacinto Museum of History, Deer Park

Superior Federal Savings Bank, Nacogdoches

Temple-Inland Forest Products Corporation, Diboll

Texas Forestry Museum, Lufkin

Trinity Valley Community College, Athens

Tyler Junior College, Tyler

The University of Texas at Tyler

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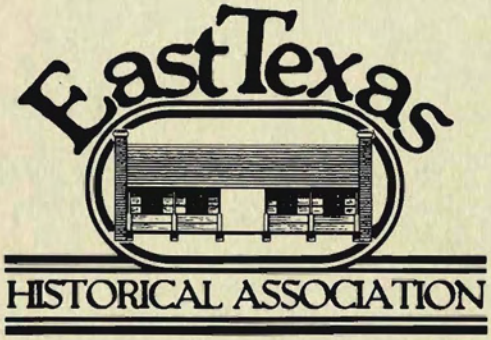
East Texas
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION